

JPRS 70190 .

18 November 1977

TRANSLATIONS ON EASTERN EUROPE  
POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL, AND MILITARY AFFAIRS  
No. 1475

EAST

EUROPE

U. S. JOINT PUBLICATIONS RESEARCH SERVICE

DISTRIBUTION STATEMENT A  
Approved for Public Release  
Distribution Unlimited

20000315 113

Reproduced From  
Best Available Copy

69

#### NOTE

JPRS publications contain information primarily from foreign newspapers, periodicals and books, but also from news agency transmissions and broadcasts. Materials from foreign-language sources are translated; those from English-language sources are transcribed or reprinted, with the original phrasing and other characteristics retained.

Headlines, editorial reports, and material enclosed in brackets [] are supplied by JPRS. Processing indicators such as [Text] or [Excerpt] in the first line of each item, or following the last line of a brief, indicate how the original information was processed. Where no processing indicator is given, the information was summarized or extracted.

Unfamiliar names rendered phonetically or transliterated are enclosed in parentheses. Words or names preceded by a question mark and enclosed in parentheses were not clear in the original but have been supplied as appropriate in context. Other unattributed parenthetical notes within the body of an item originate with the source. Times within items are as given by source.

The contents of this publication in no way represent the policies, views or attitudes of the U.S. Government.

#### PROCUREMENT OF PUBLICATIONS

JPRS publications may be ordered from the National Technical Information Service, Springfield, Virginia 22151. In ordering, it is recommended that the JPRS number, title, date and author, if applicable, of publication be cited.

Current JPRS publications are announced in Government Reports Announcements issued semi-monthly by the National Technical Information Service, and are listed in the Monthly Catalog of U.S. Government Publications issued by the Superintendent of Documents, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C. 20402.

Indexes to this report (by keyword, author, personal names, title and series) are available through Bell & Howell, Old Mansfield Road, Wooster, Ohio, 44691.

Correspondence pertaining to matters other than procurement may be addressed to Joint Publications Research Service, 1000 North Glebe Road, Arlington, Virginia 22201.

BIBLIOGRAPHIC DATA SHEET	1. Report No. JPRS 70190	2.	3. Recipient's Accession No.
	4. Title and Subtitle TRANSLATIONS ON EASTERN EUROPE - POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL, AND MILITARY AFFAIRS, No. 1475		5. Report Date 18 November 1977
7. Author(s)	8. Performing Organization Rept. No.		6.
9. Performing Organization Name and Address Joint Publications Research Service 1000 North Glebe Road Arlington, Virginia 22201		10. Project/Task/Work Unit No.	11. Contract/Grant No.
12. Sponsoring Organization Name and Address  As above		13. Type of Report & Period Covered	14.
15. Supplementary Notes			
16. Abstracts  The serial report contains articles on official party and government pronouncements and writings on significant domestic political developments; information on general sociological problems and developments in such areas as demography, manpower, public health and welfare, education, and mass organizations; and articles on military and civil defense, organization, theory, budgets, and hardware.			
17. Key Words and Document Analysis. 17a. Descriptors			
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> International Affairs <input type="checkbox"/> Albania <input type="checkbox"/> Bulgaria <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Czechoslovakia <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> East Germany <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Hungary <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Poland <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Romania <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Yugoslavia		Propaganda Political Science Sociology Military Organizations	
17b. Identifiers/Open-Ended Terms			
17c. COSATI Field/Group 5D, 5K, 15			
18. Availability Statement Unlimited Availability Sold by NTIS Springfield, Virginia 22151		19. Security Class (This Report) UNCLASSIFIED	21. No. of Pages 69
		20. Security Class (This Page) UNCLASSIFIED	22. Price PCAO4

TRANSLATIONS ON EASTERN EUROPE  
POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL, AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 1475

CONTENTS

PAGE

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

Relations Between GDR-USSR Justice Ministries Described (Hans-Joachim Heusinger Interview; PRESSE- INFORMATIONEN, 30 Sep 77).....	1
CPCZ's Strougal Lauds October Revolution on Moscow Radio (Lubomir Strougal; Moscow Domestic Service, 24 Oct 77).....	4

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

'RUDE PRAVO' Comments on Chnoupek Unga Speech (Milos Krejci; RUDE PRAVO, 7 Oct 77).....	7
Work Record of National Committees in CSR Appraised (Ladislav Adamec; NOVA MYSL, Aug 77).....	9

EAST GERMANY

Harassment of Individual by Socialist System Depicted (FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE, 7 Oct 77).....	26
West German Observations on Morale in GDR Cities (Fernando Wassner; FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE, 7 Oct 77).....	33
Briefs Attacks Against 'Aerial Espionage'	38

CONTENTS (Continued)

Page

ERRATUM: In JPRS 70121, No 1470 of this series,  
 8 November 1977, page 48, "Politburo Members Continue  
 Awarding Decorations to Plants"--"Leuna Works Receive  
 'Karl Marx Order'," please insert the following sub-  
 slug: [Excerpt from speech by SED Politburo member  
 Werner Felte to the labor force of the Leuna Works on  
 the occasion of the award of the Karl Marx Order to  
 the combine--recorded]

HUNGARY

Study Shows Party, Provinces Stifle Intellectual  
 Initiative  
 (Pal Banlaky; VALOSAG, No 10, 1977)..... 39

POLAND

Lipski Interviewed Concerning Polish-FRG Talks  
 (Witold Lipski Interview; DZIENNIK LUDOWY,  
 11 Jul 77)..... 44

Uneven Distribution of Teachers Remains a Problem  
 (SZTANDAR MLODYCH, 15 Aug 77)..... 49

Teachers Demand Better Social Benefits, Living  
 Conditions  
 (GLOS NAUCZYCIELSKI, 3 Jul 77)..... 54

Teachers' Union Plenum Report, by Kazimierz  
 Wojciechowski  
 Resolution on Social, Housing Funds

ROMANIA

Briefs  
 Nonaligned Radio Conference 61  
 Thanks to Ceausescu 61

YUGOSLAVIA

Islamic Publication Protests Restrictions on Religious  
 Education  
 (Editorial Report)..... 62

RELATIONS BETWEEN GDR-USSR JUSTICE MINISTRIES DESCRIBED

East Berlin PRESSE-INFORMATIONEN in German No 116, 30 Sep 77 p 2

[Interview with Hans-Joachim Heusinger, deputy chairman, Council of Ministers and GDR Minister of Justice, by press office of chairman, GDR Council of Ministers]

[Text] [Question] What is the main direction of cooperation between the GDR and USSR justice ministries?

[Answer] As in all other fields of social development, the GDR was able-- in the construction, steady consolidation and perfection of socialist justice and the socialist legal system--at all times to evaluate and utilize the extensive experiences of the USSR. Soviet jurists have always helped us with counsel and material aid.

By now the fundamental community of interests between the GDR and the USSR in the further development of the socialist legal system is increasingly impressive.

Often similar problems arise in the work of the justice ministries of both countries. That makes for purposeful comparative work. Our ministries therefore maintain many varied methods of exchanging information, reflections and experiences.

In this, the 60th year of the Great October Socialist Revolution, the Soviet Union embodies the most progressive socialist social order in the stage of the building of communism. For us this signifies quite especially the possibility and necessity to utilize the rich treasure of experiences of the Soviet Ministry of Justice. We acknowledge that the 25th CPSU Congress as well as the Ninth SED Congress emphasized the growing importance of the consistent enforcement of socialist law in all areas of social development. Accordingly our two countries stress the further development of socialist democracy.

As stated in the CPSU Central Committee resolution on the occasion of the 60th anniversary of the Great October, socialist democracy is the "unity of

rights and duties, true freedom and civic responsibility, and the harmonious coupling of the interests of society, the collective and the personality."

The new draft constitution of the USSR in its totality as well as the section "sentencing, arbitration and public prosecutor's office" is the model which we are using creatively for the conception of the further perfection of our legal system.

[Question] What are the topical problems at the center of cooperation?

[Answer] Matters of legislation were paramount at my latest exchange of experience with USSR Minister of Justice V.I. Terebilov. As member of the constitutional commission the USSR Minister of Justice reported on the content and proceedings of the population discussion and on the tasks of the staffs of the organs of justice in the public discussion of the draft constitution. We took the opportunity to report our experiences in the preparation and discussion of the new labor code.

For our current work on developing long-term planned legislation the experiences gained in the long-term preparation of the Soviet legal code are extremely important. The advanced standard of cooperation in the field of legislation is also reflected in the fact that, following the conferences of the justice ministers of the socialist countries, a long-range common plan of comparative legal work for the participating justice ministries has become the basis of a most valuable and rational procedure with respect to the comparison of laws relating to topical legislative projects. Subsequent to the exchanges of experiences we devoted particular attention to the spheres of responsibility still new to both justice ministries--legal education and legal indoctrination, and also to legal work in the economy.

In the course of several meetings we exchanged experiences from the current operations of USSR and GDR organs of justice. These focused on the tasks and methods for the further stimulation of social forces, especially the work collectives, in the campaign against crime; the utilization of lay judges in the work of the courts, the types of their training and further education as well as matters of court organization and the organization of the judges work. These are some topics of the constant exchange of experiences between our ministries, which is part and parcel of the long-range plan on cultural and scientific cooperation between our countries.

[Question] What are the provisions for mutual legal aid which, after all, directly touch upon the interests of citizens in both countries?

[Answer] Since 1957 a treaty has been in force between the GDR and the USSR concerning legal aid in civil, family and penal matters. On this basis many types of cooperation have developed between the organs of the administration of justice in the partner countries for the protection of the rights and interests of citizens of both nations. This treaty includes comprehensive provisions, among others some about the law prevailing if citizens of

the partner countries are involved in a legal relationship. That is particularly applicable in the field of family law regarding marriage, maintenance obligations, the ascertainment of paternity and divorce.

After 20 years of work with the treaty an excellent day-to-day international legal relationship has emerged, which continues to be the object of constant exchanges of experiences with Soviet jurists. In this field also the partners endeavor steadily to improve and perfect the agreement and the legal work proceeding on its basis.

11698  
CSO: 2300

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

CPCZ'S STROUGAL LAUDS OCTOBER REVOLUTION ON MOSCOW RADIO

Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1620 GMT 24 Oct 77

[Radio address by Lubomir Strougal, CPCZ Central Committee Politburo member and Czechoslovak Premier--recorded, in Czech with superimposed Russian translation]

[Text] Dear Friends: Radio listeners of the great land of the Soviets! I address you on the eve of the glorious jubilee; the 60th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution, which changed the fate not only of your country, but of all the peoples of the world. It brought to reality the treasured dream of the revolutionaries of the last 2 centuries, opened the way to socialism and communism and to a world without wars, to the happiness of all working people.

All those who have understood the true significance of 7 November--and their number continues to grow--are delighted by your splendid successes in the past 60 years. Formerly backward, your country has become an industrially developed power, has made a leap from the ages of poverty into an era of prosperity for the people. It smashed foreign interventionists and fascist aggressors during the years of the great patriotic war. It is successfully discovering the laws of earth and space. It created the first state of the whole people. It has adopted a new constitution which is an example of truly socialist democracy.

All those who have understood the significance of October do not confine themselves simply to words of admiration. They take its historic ideas as a program for their own lives. Therefore, over the past 60 years of the 20th century we have been witnesses of the broad scope of the workers and anti-imperialist movement. Therefore, more and more red banners appear on the map of the world every year, more and more countries set out on the road of socialism, because 60 years ago Soviet October showed them this one true road. This also applies to Czechoslovakia, which after centuries of oppression, under the direct influence of the Great October Revolution, set about restoring its independence as a state. There is something symbolic in the fact that some months after the October celebrations we will also be celebrating the 60th anniversary of the state of Czechs and Slovaks, which in 1945, after the cruel Nazi occupation, was liberated by the forces of the land of the Soviets.

The ideas of 1917, on the one hand, helped the process of the self-determination of our people. On the other, they awakened the workers movement, forged and tempered the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia as a truly Marxist-Leninist Party, a party of the new type, which led the people in the struggle against the power of the bourgeoisie, and during the occupation against nazism. It was able to instill into the consciousness of the people the idea of the unbreakable unity of national liberation and socialism and to bring the working people to full liberation in February 1945.

For many long years, throughout the struggle for national and social liberation, over the years of the antifascist struggle and also in the years of the building of the foundations of socialism, we were always inspired by the experience of October, all the more so since the Soviet Union, during the years of the building of socialism in our country, has constantly given us fraternal assistance. Thus were the principles of socialism by which our fraternal parties are guided, applied in reality. How many times we have been convinced of the correctness of the wise words of Klement Gottwald, our first worker-president, who always took care to recall that the building of socialism, the safeguarding of our national liberty and state independence, the maintenance of peace, all these are unthinkable without a firm alliance with your mighty country. This alliance of which Klement Gottwald spoke is at the present time strengthened by a treaty of friendship, cooperation and mutual assistance between our two states. It has been tested by experience in party, state, social, cultural and economic relations, and this has been proved thousands of times.

Our gratitude for Soviet assistance in the fulfillment of past Five-Year Plans, in the reorganizing of Czechoslovak industry on a modern basis, in eliminating the dependence of the Czechoslovak economy on capitalist markets, cannot be expressed in words. Today, the nature of our cooperation has changed. Isolated measures have given way to constant contacts. Short-term contracts have given way to agreements covering many years. The program of coordination and cooperation in industry has been augmented by a program of cooperation in the field of science and technology. Production relations have reached unprecedented dimensions. In our relations, we have implemented the principle of the division of labor, augmenting the role of series production, limiting duplication in output of articles, which for Czechoslovakia is particularly important. We have opened the way for specialization and coordination in engineering, which is the basis of our industry and exports. From the timid steps of yesterday, we have reached the point where today we can set ourselves such a complex task as the implementation of the production of equipment for nuclear powerplants, and not only for our own power generation industry, but for the development of the power base of all the socialist countries. Thus the talent of the Soviet workers, technicians and scientists multiplies the successes of all the socialist states, including Czechoslovakia.

As Comrade Gustav Husak, general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee and president of the republic, said at the 25th CPSU Congress: Our relations, particularly in recent years, have broadly developed in all aspects for the benefit of the people of both countries. Therefore, we are doing everything to insure that the all-round cooperation and friendship between our countries and peoples and the militant alliance of the Czechoslovak and Soviet Communists becomes more intensive in the future.

Dear Listeners, I am firmly convinced that the festival of the 60th anniversary of Great October will be not only a review of the successes achieved and victories gained by the Soviet peoples, but also a splendid occasion for setting new, still bolder tasks in the building of socialism and communism. The jubilee which we are jointly celebrating will undoubtedly give a new impetus to the struggle of progressive forces for peace and disarmament. The Soviet peace program has triumphantly crowned the 60th anniversary of the Soviet Union's efforts directed toward safeguarding collective security in Europe and throughout the world. There is now taking place, in the words of Comrade Brezhnev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, a turn in the development of international relations, a turn from the cold war to the peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems, a turn toward detente.

May our hopes for peace and a happy tomorrow be realized. And it cannot be otherwise, since the October Revolution carries within itself the implementation of ideals for which many generations of revolutionaries have striven and died.

I congratulate you on the festival, which personifies the bright future of the world. I wish you happiness and fortune in your families and in your labor.

CSO: 1800

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

'RUDE PRAVO' COMMENTS ON CHNOUPEK UNGA SPEECH

Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 7 Oct 77 p 7

[Article by Milos Krejci: "In the Front Ranks for Peace"]

[Text] The key to the basic ideas contained in Foreign Minister Bohuslav Chnoupek's declaration can be easily found. His entire speech contains nothing but clearly defined positions and positive proposals and recommendations. It reflects the development of the policy of peaceful coexistence between countries with different social systems from the Peace Decree to last year which our government views as a period of continuing relaxation of international tensions.

His speech is an expression of the multiplicity of objectives followed by the Czechoslovak foreign policy. It expresses uncompromisingly our position in an international situation where two opposing social systems, divided by a deep ideological chasm, exist side by side in the world.

In our time, which gravitates to higher forms of social organization, a characteristic example is the 60th anniversary of the Great October, a revolutionary historical event, whose policy of peaceful coexistence not only lives to this day, but will be expressed in basic principles also in the new constitution of the USSR.

This development was an indispensable preparation for the current peace policy and that of relaxation of tensions which the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries are following in the era of their productive development. It is a policy which is a dictate of the moment. As Comrade Gustav Husak said at the 15th CPCZ Congress, it is the only acceptable alternative at a time of the accumulation of such enormous destructive power in the world.

It is also a policy tailored to our needs. It is dictated by our full membership in the community of socialist countries and by our faith in the victorious future of humanity. The socialist countries want to shape and remake the world and life. They have come part of the way and it pays to look back. The acclaim with which this policy is received in the world is the most telling indicator of the correctness of its purpose. Even more important is the fact that socialism has proved itself, and the community of its countries has grown to a mighty power able to defend itself against threats and extortion.

Our country is endowed with a historical heritage which renders it especially sensitive to political developments in Europe. It is situated between two worlds with different social systems. Our interest in implementing the results of the Final Act of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe consequently constitutes the true basis of our fundamental and unshakeable approaches and positions.

For this reason our policy can never again be based on the shaky ground on which it rested during the First Republic or towards which some trends were pointing in 1968. We lived through the tragic consequences of these fundamental errors with their full fateful impact. Therefore, we cling even closer to the foreign policy of the Soviet Union and the principles of proletarian internationalism. We are a strong component of the socialist community and of its military and economic groupings.

No reminder is needed that we pay full attention to the omnilateral development of fraternal contacts and comradely cooperation within the framework of the community of countries with whom our policy is in full agreement. But we do not limit our interest only to them. We are seeking and finding common ground and are developing fruitful relations also with a whole number of states with different social systems.

As a country which for centuries fought against foreign domination, we fully support the efforts of the developing countries to escape the fate of political and economic dependence. These new states, which until recently vegetated under the wretched system of colonial and imperialistic exploitation, are now loudly clamoring for their inalienable rights and receive our full sympathy and support. The problem of racism and apartheid in the southern tip of Africa, which tries desperately to extend the duration of its shameful past and is one of the biggest current problems, calls for speedy resolution. We urgently warn the Republic of South Africa to refrain from manufacturing nuclear weapons because it constitutes a threat to world peace. At the same time, we support the peaceful resolution of conflicts in those parts of the world where the flames of war still threaten to break out.

The thorniest problem of international policy is the intensification and consolidation of the relaxation of tensions in the world and the prevention of nuclear war. New and older proposals submitted by the Soviet Union most clearly delineate ways of resolving it. The questions of disarmament, of the prohibition of new nuclear weapons and guarantees by all countries never to be the first to use nuclear weapons, a reduction of the number of troops and armaments in central Europe--are the basic prerequisites for the attainment of a lasting peace.

Therefore, it is downright grotesque when countries, which are making these dangerous preparations, would like to boss us around and insist that we obey their command. They mask with designing calculation their destructive activity by tales invented for propaganda purposes and cover it up by all kinds of malicious attacks and mendacious inventions. Their protests to history, which sentenced them to oblivion, are futile.

Victory belongs to nations which look into the future, are motivated by passionate love for peace and social justice for all people in the world.

WORK RECORD OF NATIONAL COMMITTEES IN CSR APPRAISED

Prague NOVA MYSL in Czech No 9, Aug 77 pp 10-23

[Article by Ladislav Adamec: "Successful Achievements of the National Committees"]

[Text] The dedicated policies of our party, which were clearly spelled out at the 14th and 15th congresses of the CPCZ, are reflected in the economic and political life of society. These policies are reviewed regularly by the Central Committee, which in addressing itself to the problems discussed at its individual sessions is aided by a great store of knowledge and experience and by an ability to promote positive trends and to act consistently in overcoming existing problems.

The documents adopted by the Central Committee are illustrative of the dialectical unity of theory and practice and the creative application of the Leninist laws of socialist construction. In the organizational field these documents accent the importance of the linchpin principle, which is essentially determined by the relationship between the present and the future while fully acknowledging the positive experiences of past stages in the development of our socialist society.

This is also borne out in numerous ways by the meetings of the CPCZ Central Committee which have taken place since the 15th Congress and which were devoted to a discussion of the key issues related to the implementation of the party's economic and social program.

The resolutions of the Central Committee naturally call upon everyone in both the operational and management spheres to work harder, and, among other things, they are attended by numerous major tasks which are also applicable to the entire system of national committees. As the people's elected representatives, in addition to carrying out their political-educational and administrative functions within their assigned areas and sectors, they also fulfill a vital mission as an organ which is responsible for the balanced growth of the regional unit under their jurisdiction. Only with their close

cooperation is it possible to satisfy all reasonable and socially justified needs of a political, economic, social, or cultural nature. This undoubtedly has a fundamental impact on the nature of the criteria that are used to evaluate the performance of their officials, deputies, and employees.

The nature of the demands imposed upon them in their work requires that they should take a broader view of things when assessing their immediate and long-range possibilities. For example, it is not possible to overlook the connection between efficiency, technological maturity, export capabilities, and the supply of the domestic market in terms of the tasks facing the Czechoslovak engineering industry and the national committees, which can provide a great deal of assistance in terms of recruiting workers for this industry, stabilizing worker turnover rates, and making prudent decisions on the quantity and quality of housing construction and on the quality of public service facilities in accordance with the growth plans of individual localities.

The national committees have similar responsibilities in relation to our construction industry. During the course of the Sixth Five-Year Plan we expect that they will contribute 44 percent of the total volume of capital assets realized within the economic sphere under the direction of the government of the CSR. This accounts for the indispensable role played by the national committees with regard to compliance with approved construction timetables, economical management, adherence to technical and economic parameters, and upgrading the efficiency of investor, designer, and contractor performance in connection with the timely completion of housing units and their renovation and maintenance.

Just as much concern in being devoted to the satisfaction of the material needs of the citizenry and to providing for the growth of the domestic market, as was discussed at the seventh session of the CPCZ Central Committee. Understandably, the national committees cannot assume the responsibilities of production and trade organizations, but they are capable of assisting in the elimination of shortcomings affecting distribution and the hygiene of business establishments, making a greater effort to promote more convenient shop business hours and a more efficient trading network, monitoring the effectiveness of adopted measures, encouraging good relations between buyers and sellers, and so on.

While the organs of the people's power and administration play a mostly indirect role in the domestic trade sphere, in the services sector--in the case of many sectors and activities--they occupy a position of vital organizational responsibility. In keeping with this fundamental imperative the national committees must proceed to act in accordance with the needs of our time, and, based on an analysis and careful examination of existing conditions, they must in some instances respond more quickly so as to direct and in other instances so as to actually carry out the integration and specialization of local business enterprises and the restructuring of production activities; they must strive for the more efficient management of the local

construction industry and the housing economy and for appropriate methods designed to encourage initiative, to increase the availability, accessibility, and quality of services, and shorten delivery times, and to critically evaluate achieved results.

This approach is not only a characteristic feature of the drive to establish good housing conditions in new housing projects in central obeces and in rural areas, rather it also amounts to yet another step toward the fulfillment of the congress guidelines, which in comparison with 1975 call for a 20-22 percent increase in the supply of services by 1980.

These few selected policy goals clearly demonstrate that the implementation of the party's policies and the proper understanding of the party line constitute the basic rationale for all of the work performed by the national committees. Overall, this amounts to a wide-ranging program that needs to be buttressed by mutual cooperation and coordination. Understandably, then, the question arises as to whether the necessary conditions have been provided for at all levels of political, state, and social administration that will make it possible for the representative assemblies to carry out this program. The answer to this question may be said to be both unequivocal and affirmative.

The continuing interest of party organs is a crucial prerequisite in this regard. Under the direction of the party organs the representative assemblies are upgrading the quality of their political-educational and economic organizational work. Party organs look upon these bodies not only as places where a final accounting is made of the results of past work, but also as institutions to which they can turn for assistance and which can provide them with valuable ideas for the further advancement of political, economic, and cultural life.

The degree of attention which party organs have devoted and continue to devote to the manner in which the national committees address themselves to the implementation of the party's policies, the careful recruitment and training of their officials, deputies, and employees, and the monitoring of their operational methods guarantees that they will be able to carry on successfully with the work that was marked by such an auspicious beginning.

In elaborating upon the resolutions of the Central Committee and in accepting the tasks which were assigned to communists in the representative assemblies the kraj and okres committees and the local party organs assumed that in the wake of the 15th Congress there would be a further intensification in the work of the collectives of deputies and officials. Last year's elections to the representative assemblies proved to be a major turning point for these bodies--not only in terms of the candidates that were selected, but also in terms of overall summing up of past activities. It was shown that an objectivity conceived evaluation process is a valuable source of information which makes it possible to undertake a detailed analysis of positive achievements and shortcomings and at the same time to determine means of action that will be more responsive to the goals of party policy.

Another set of prerequisites for the creative implementation of the resolutions adopted by the organs of the leading force of our society, the communist party, lies in the quality of the administrative and organizational work of the government of the CSR.

When it presented its Declaration of Program Goals to the Czech National Council a few months ago the government of the CSR emphasized the following points among others: "It is our common goal to see to it that the national committees, by virtue of the substance and methods of their work, should be politically prepared and professionally trained by the authorities of the people's government in obeces, okreses, and krajs. In order to strengthen their authority and action-readiness it is necessary that general social interests should be coordinated with local needs as an integral part of all decisionmaking activities, that they should always act in the spirit of our laws, and that they should take into account the reasonable interests of every individual."

In carrying out the resolutions of supreme party organs first priority is given to the following fundamental question, i.e., how should the national committees carry out those duties which are expressive of their role in political, economic-organizational, and cultural-educational life, especially when it comes to promoting the non-official activities of deputies, officials, and employees.

Therefore, it is no coincidence that this particular point in time was chosen to publish working guidelines aimed at improving the performance of the management organs of the national committees. This is also closely related to plans for an automated data reporting system, which is designed to gradually establish a data base that will make it possible to enhance the effectiveness of their organizational work. The regional priorities, which were discussed at the party congress and which in the future as well are bound to be a subject of great interest to the general public, also occupy an important place in the government's deliberations.

Regional documents have been approved for the further development of the capital city of Prague, the Central Bohemia-Prague and Uste-Chomutov agglomeration, and the Krkonos oblast. The problems of the North Bohemia Kraj are being resolved in a comprehensive fashion, especially in terms of the interrelationship between the economy and the living environment.

Within the sphere of the national committees the consistent orientation of the administrative function of our government is reflected in the systematic deepening of the organic link between the operational and short-term activities and the long-term planning goals which possess the same common denominator.

This is spelled out in the documents of the 15th Congress of the CPCZ as follows:

"This is a question of working consistently in accordance with the principles of democratic centralism, taking an ethical and creative approach to the solution of problems, demanding hard work of ourselves and others, and not tolerating contradictions between words and deeds, subjectivism, and dogmatism."

Reports coming in from individual krajs attest to the active and concrete application of this system of principles. These principles are properly reflected in the proceedings of the councils and plena of the kraj national committees during the first 6 months of this year.

Most importantly, the election platforms of the National Front came to occupy a prominent position in their carefully drafted work plans--not as an isolated problem, but rather as an integrated series of tasks indissolubly bound up with the further encouragement of initiative and activism and socialist competitions.

Deputies and officials are primarily interested in seeing to that the individual elements of the election platforms--firmly based on a familiarity with and an assessment of actual needs--motivate productive efforts and exert an influence on the moral and political attitudes of the people.

It is not coincidental that the goals contained in these platforms serve to strengthen the authority of the organs of people's power, reinforce interpersonal relations, and broaden the people's understanding of the process encompassing the balanced shaping of life in the countryside, in towns, or even in entire oblasts.

An example of this approach might be the plenary session of the West Bohemia Kraj National Committee, where the jointly agreed upon implementation of election platforms and the proliferation of socialist competitions have been indicative of the integrating mission of the higher levels of the national committees, which are publicizing the experience of local organs and relying on the cooperation of the rank and file aktiv.

One could speak in a similar vein about the achievements of the session of the council of the National Committee of the Capital City of Prague, and essentially the same things could be said about all the other krajs in the CSR.

On many occasions comparisons were made between the very often justified perceptions of okreses and localities concerning the need for capital spending, financial resources, and so on and their concomitant capabilities. It was borne out once again that mutual understanding requires, among other things, constant clarifications and explanations of the goals and objectives which we are pursuing and of the preconditions which we must build up in advance. But this should never prevent us from reacting sensitively to all of those matters that are a source of concern for the public and that call for direct assistance.

It was from this point of view that in recent months all of the kraj national committees engaged in a thorough examination of the positive and negative aspects of local economies and services. They did not get bogged down in a mere enumeration of basic problems, rather they came out and said what should be done avoid these problems in the future in light of the approved long-range development plans. This is attested to by the actions of the South Moravia Kraj National Committee which undertook to review the implementation of one of its earlier resolutions on plans for the development and distribution of public services through the year 1990 in the local economy branch.

The wide-ranging sociopolitical mission of the national committees in our society and their contribution to the fulfillment of the economic development plan adopted by the 15th Congress clearly document the success of these programs. The overall work orientation of the national committees, as specified in detail by the individual sessions of party organs, is the cornerstone of the everyday work of deputies and officials. This is borne out by the lively progress of the proceedings of the East Bohemia Kraj National Committee concerning the engineering industry and of the South Bohemia and South Moravia Regional National Committees concerning the construction industry.

This was not and could not merely be a question of supporting the resolutions adopted by the CPCZ Central Committee, rather it is above all a question analyzing past work and of accentuating the role of the national committees, e.g., when working with centrally managed enterprises, in the efficient management of "Z" building projects, in making sound decisions on capital spending, and so on.

Similar challenges are being posed by the conceptually systematic approaches that are being taken in dealing with problems in the fields of education, culture, health care, social policy, and mainly in connection with the realization of the principle of worker participation in the making of decisions on these questions.

It is only logical that the actions of the krajs have been reflected in the administrative procedures, the organizational campaigns, and educational programs of okreses and localities.

Their future successes will be a product of past experience and are firmly based on the results of the recent elections.

There is no question but that the general election, as the most important domestic political event of the second half of last year, offered yet another unequivocal and convincing proof of the active, spontaneous, and all-round support of the people for the party's policies. For the national committees they marked a new stage in the common tasks dedicated to the fulfillment of the goals of party and state policies.

In particular there was a consolidation of the class and social structure of the deputy assemblies, in which the present membership breakdown is 59.3 percent industrial workers and members of unified agricultural co-operatives, 29.3 percent women, and 28.1 percent young people. One out of every 22 citizens of our republic works in the organs, commissions, and other aktivs of the national committees.

This fact is not only very encouraging, but it also entails great obligations. It requires that given tasks should be prepared in a creative manner and that the deputies assigned to the fulfillment of such tasks should be recruited in a planned manner and thoroughly prepared. The principles of this political and technical training apply not only to the deputies themselves, but also the officials and employees of the national committees.

Immediately after the elections these officials and employees were already briefed on their basic duties, arising out of the resolutions of the 15th Congress of the CPCZ, in conjunction with the need to enforce the leading role of the CPCZ in representative assemblies and to fulfill the tasks set forth in the election platforms of the National Front. This basic training is supplemented by planned courses of instruction which will be held on a systematic basis throughout the course of the current term of office. The main purpose of these courses is to keep deputies continuously informed about current CPCZ policy questions and to give them a deeper understanding of the working principles of the entire system of representative assemblies.

This system must be enriched by exchanges of experience and knowledge between the deputies themselves, by the use of tested working methods during meetings with voters, and by a well-thought-out search for procedures that can most effectively respond to the critical observations of the people and deepen their confidence in elected organs.

It is self-evident that today none of those persons for whom the voters cast their ballots a few months ago will be able to do their jobs based on the knowledge they acquired in the past. Now more than ever before the assimilation of new knowledge and information is linked more directly to the adoption of the efficient working methods and to the more deliberate cultivation of a high sense of political maturity and a substantive knowledge of problems.

In this way the theoretical groundwork is being laid for the more effective promotion of the Leninist style of work in all fields of endeavor in conjunction with the assertion of general social needs in the planning and analytical work of individual plena, councils, commissions, and aktivs. The fulfillment of the tasks set forth by the 15th Congress--within the field of action of the deputies and officials--is giving rise to a firmly entrenched system, which is at the same time based on the improvement of institutional structures and on their improved performance and on the strengthening of the legal authority and responsibility of the lower levels of the national committees so that they are able to work more efficiently as organs which are concerned with providing for all aspects of balanced regional growth and for a better life for all citizens.

With a view to improving the quality of management and organizational work and introducing modern methods in relations between central authorities and the national committees and between the national committees and their subordinate enterprises and organizations the abovementioned imperatives calling for systemic solutions imply the need for a stricter evaluation of the quality of their apparatuses, individual employees, and entire work collectives.

These are the very institutions with which citizens come into contact in the course of dealing with many of their day-to-day problems, and their working methods, efficiency, flexibility, professionalism, and their responsiveness to the basic human impulse to lend a helping hand are often determining factors in shaping opinions on the overall work of the representative assemblies, and on the efforts of deputies, citizens committees, and so on.

In recent years specific measures have been undertaken aimed at increasing the skills of top national committee officials. Nevertheless, it turns out that many of these officials are still reconciled to putting up with an uncomradely atmosphere, that they have failed to learn what they should have learned from their mistakes, and that, finally, they have not fully implemented an analysis-oriented control system. Nothing should be allowed to prevent a citizen from being able to understand the full extent of his rights when it comes to the procedures of public administration. Party organizations, especially their committees, are also expected to bear a large measure of responsibility in this regard.

It ought to be completely self-evident that party meetings in national committees should analyze the quality of work in dealings with individuals in a substantive, pertinent, and regular manner, get to the bottom of complaints that are filed, and make a planned effort to encourage attitudes which do not tolerate shortcomings.

This has to do with the need to promote consistency, which was discussed at the November 1974 session of the CPCZ Central Committee. The fulfillment of this need is closely connected with the implementation of the basic policy lines governing all activities of national committees and with the requirements set forth by the 15th Congress of the CPCZ, which were elaborated upon in the election platforms of the National Front.

It has already become a deep-rooted tradition in this country that we incorporate concrete tasks and pledges made by individuals and organizations into election platforms. They have been, are, and will continue to be not only a composite concept outlining the future direction of our work, but also an informal compact between the citizens, the national committees, enterprises, and the National Front.

The most important thing revealed by the content of these platforms is the close interconnection between the goals of the Sixth Five-Year Plan and the manner in which we lay the groundwork for the achievement of these goals

in individual localities. To a great extent, these platforms are characterized, on the one hand, by the comprehensiveness of their approach to the political, cultural, and economic development of regional areas and to the needs of the local citizenry, while, on the other hand, they are marked by a deliberate effort to encourage individuals to engage in higher forms of personal commitment.

It can also be regarded as being very auspicious that local enterprises and plants as well are being directly persuaded of how advantageous it is for them to participate creatively in tasks of a general social nature. This participation results in the prosperity of the whole community, be it obec or town, and contributes to the contentment and happiness of the people. The manner in which the consequences of population growth are being dealt with, i.e., by encouraging the more rapid return of women from maternity leaves to the labor market, might serve as an example that others could follow.

In particular, the economic sections of the election platforms, in which "Z" projects are a dominant factor, are an appropriate adjunct and supplement of the national economic plan. The results that have been achieved can be readily attested to by the hundreds of new and socially beneficial plants or by other necessary building projects which would have otherwise taken a long time to get started due to the shortage of capacities and funds. Volunteer work by citizens, the internal assets of national committees, and enterprise reserve funds can be used to produce benefits for the public much sooner than would otherwise be possible.

In preparing the new election platforms the national committees were guided by the desire to provide for the smooth and proper fulfillment of the tasks of the Sixth Five-Year Plan in the individual sectors of the national economy, to bring about a qualitative and quantitative increase in cultural standards in the social and health care services available to citizens, and in the level of education, and to promote the establishment of a socialist way of life. These goals were reflected in a substantive and realistic way in the plans for the further development of towns and obeces, in the improvement of the living environment, in the expansion and upgrading of services, and in the provisions that were made for a fuller cultural and social life. Hundreds of thousands of national committee deputies and officials, all levels of the organs and organizations of the National Front, and, by means of public meetings, millions of our fellow citizens are continually taking part in these efforts.

The coordinated cooperation of the individual organs and organizations of the National Front, which are making effective use of their role in our political system and in the management of social affairs, contributing to the advancement of socialist democracy, and under the leadership of the party fulfilling their specifically designated tasks, is also proving to be useful. The broad social base covered by their various activities is making an especially valuable contribution to the enrichment of political-educational and cultural work.

Constant attention and concern is being devoted to their systematic improvement within the context of production programs. This extends both to the area of building up the material and technical infrastructure for the support of educational activities and, in particular, to the area of the substantive management and control of these activities in keeping with the spirit of the resolutions of the 15th Congress of the CPCZ.

This effort is based on the lofty ideal which is dedicated to the formation of a socialist way of life, to the strengthening of the ties between the individual and socialist society, and to the encouragement of those attributes which augment creative activity and initiative. Major emphasis is placed on the motivational nature of ideological education, on raising the educational level of the people, and supporting the growth of cultural activities. The concrete manifestations of political and job-related commitment in conjunction with the creation of social values are a measure of the effectiveness of the results achieved.

It is an important and, in terms of increased efficiency, critical principle which holds that educational programs should be cultivated in a manner that is closely related to the fulfillment of tasks which a majority of citizens regard as being truly urgent. Another prerequisite for success is the fulfillment of the imperative which holds that citizens should be not only informed about national goals, but that a systematic effort should also be made to open the way for the assertion of their skills, initiative, and ambitions. All suggestions that are brought forward by citizens must be carefully and thoughtfully investigated. At the same time it should not be forgotten that good ideas are not a product of chance, rather they are born of a creative atmosphere and deliberate encouragement. In this regard representative assemblies owe a great duty to citizens just as citizens also owe a great duty to society as a whole.

In controlling this process national committee deputies and officials are on the whole successfully taking advantage of existing conditions and prerequisites, which consist in, among other things, the assignment of tasks that lend themselves to review and control, in cooperation with the National Front, in the evaluation of possibilities arising out of the age and occupational structure of the population, and so on. In this regard an important role is played by the citizens committees, which constitute the largest and most mass-oriented aktivs of the national committees. The national committees look upon the citizens committees as an indispensable tool for the encouragement of educational programs, activism, and initiative. New citizens committees were recently elected at public meetings. This led to the establishment of a total of 13,750 citizens committees with 157,313 members. Nearly 45 percent of this total number is made up of industrial workers and cooperative farmers, with more than 25 percent being accounted for by women and more than one-third by young people. Not only does this composition essentially reflect the class, age, and social structure of the general population, but is also indicative of the fact that the new

membership includes the most active citizens, who proved themselves through their work on behalf of the social organizations of the National Front, capable young people, and former deputies, who were not elected to the present term of office of the national committees. In addition to the other activists of the national committees, there is a staff of more than 300,000 full-time officials, whose work is a manifestation of the extensive participation of the people in the management and administration of national affairs. They offer persuasive proof of the consistent application of the principles of socialist democracy in our social system, and they serve to guarantee the continuity and fruitfulness of our future work.

Their contribution is especially apparent in connection with efforts to promote the productive activities and voluntary involvement of citizens in the drive to give form and substance to the election platforms as a whole.

The economic sections of these platform documents are primarily concerned with the further development of those construction projects which are most beneficial to society. The conscious activism of the citizenry shall be mobilized in support of such projects. Also in this connection it is expected that priority will continue to be assigned to facilities for pre-school and extracurricular training in those activities which serve to enrich the sports and recreational life of citizens and contribute to the full self-realization of every individual.

The rationale of social need, as the most important criteria of new construction and public works, is also reflected in the thinking and actions of our officials and is a controlling factor in "Z" projects.

During the preceding term of office, i.e., during 1971-1976, the value of the output generated by the capital and non-capital segments of the "Z" campaign reached Kcs 41,871,700. Credit for this great achievement goes to the tens of thousands of citizens who without compensation put in 1,395,800 brigade labor hours. An especially valuable and useful contribution was made by the construction of 46 new day-care centers, 625 kindergartens with room for 25,975 children, 117 basic 9-year schools with room for 10,798 pupils, 243 young people's clubs, 239 school cafeterias, 255 gymnasiums, 382 sports fields, 412 bathing and swimming pools, and 2,265 childrens' playgrounds.

Self-help projects also accounted for the construction of 386 health care centers, retail stores with a display area of 234,294 square meters, 667 community houses, and 147 cultural facilities. This kind of work also resulted in the construction of 8,398 kilometers of local roads, 6,733 kilometers of water and sewer pipes, more than 11 million square meters of parks and landscaped areas, and 2,166 reservoirs. These data naturally do not include the dozens and hundreds of small projects which are cumulatively responsible for generating a wide-ranging current of initiative and activism as an expression of the socially beneficial actions of the citizenry.

These results, even though they are highly positive, cannot prevent us from seeing the need to make some critical comments concerning certain shortcomings and weak points. There have even been instances--which have been pointed out with reason on several occasions--which attest to the fact that major capital construction projects included in the "Z" campaign are attended by problems in the project finishing stages. As long as a construction project requires the assistance of volunteer brigades manned by members of the general public, success is usually achieved in carrying out the provisions of the agreed upon work flow-chart. But as soon as the need arises for highly skilled technical labor (heating plant installation, sheet-metal duct work, electrical work, and so on) problems occur, timetables are extended, and construction costs go up. Problems connected with the acquisition of materials are another phenomenon attending the realization of these kinds of large projects. The conclusion of agreements with building supply organizations is a demanding task, and the result is that the energies of the national committee are often necessarily focused on this one particular task. Criticisms are also voiced concerning the fact that seemingly minor problems are left unsolved and that responsibilities related to the development of managerial, organizational, and administrative functions are downplayed.

Of course, these are not typical examples, but nevertheless they do implicitly have a more generally useful lesson to teach us, i.e., that prior to the approval of project goals it is essential to carefully analyze current performance levels, to objectively evaluate existing preconditions, and to give some thought as to what is essential and expedient in the long run and as to what is feasible with the resources that are available.

It has often been said that one should not count on the immediate satisfaction of all of the needs that may exist in individual localities. This fact requires that planned and effective actions should be combined with the clarification of future prospects and that, in conjunction with the economic expenditure of public funds, resources and capacities should be distributed evenly so as to provide convincing proof of the planned development of towns and obeces.

For the period of the Sixth Five-Year Plan the government of the CSR recommended that the series of building projects included in the "Z" campaign should be ranked according to the degree of their urgency, and it also considered other alternative possibilities for achieving greater efficiency, e.g., through and multiple use of facilities, and so on. In so doing it relied on measures adopted in previous years, thereby bringing the "Z" campaign back into line with its original objective; it reduced the number of building projects down to a level that is still commensurate with the capabilities of self-help work brigades, and it put an end to the contractor method of construction. At the same time it gave the "Z" campaign an orientation that is primarily designed to be supportive of programs aimed at encouraging a higher birth rate in terms of the priority construction

of facilities, and childrens' recreational facilities. As far as the local and town national committees are concerned, this means that they have a responsibility to work more actively for the pooling of resources and funds with plants and cooperatives and to devote themselves to the more thorough development of plans for making their own contribution to the intensification and development of competitions among national committees.

The system of performance criteria used in socialist competitions must necessarily be expressive of the growing demands for quality and efficiency. At the same time, it must help to publicize the experiences of the most outstanding workers everywhere where this is possible, i.e., as a constant source of new working methods.

It has been demonstrated that the merit evaluation of the most outstanding individual workers in okreses and krajs and, ultimately, the merit rating of local, town, and okres or obvod national committees by the government of the CSR has already become a traditional and highly valued means for encouraging good performance in the future and for setting an example for others. It is of fundamental importance not only that the winners of these competitions, in addition to honorable recognition, received monetary rewards, but also that this year in the CSR these honorable recognitions were accorded to 328 national committees.

This movement is typified not only by the level of performance achieved in regard to a few of the most important functions of the national committees, but, most importantly, it is also typified by the all-round and almost omnipresent effort to insure the proper and mutually balanced fulfillment of all the individual functions of the national committees. This is a question of taking a comprehensive approach, which is at the forefront of all the other criteria employed by the citizenry in order to evaluate the performance of a representative assembly in a given locality. In this respect we are not only thinking about, but we are also putting into practice new forms of initiative in the national committees. The fundamental point of departure here is the fact that activism is not a chance phenomenon, rather it calls for a systematic analysis of existing needs and capabilities. The specific terms of these analyses encourage creative efforts and promote a critical evaluation of what was achieved in the past. Under this set of circumstances initiative becomes a necessity, a factor which has to be cultivated and bolstered by useful suggestions in light of future needs. We should always bear in mind the fact that citizens appreciate displays of initiative and become involved in them only when they are convinced that the results of this initiative will be utilized prudently and systematically. In other words, the only thing that can bolster the prestige of deputies, officials and management organs, strengthen their ties with the people, and be indicative of the consistency with which the party's policies are carried out and its leading role is asserted in practice is the concrete implementation of election platforms and other plans.

The achievement of these goals by the national committees is predicated upon the constant re-examination of the methods employed in management and organizational work. We have not always been satisfied with the quality of this work in the past, and not everything that is being done in this area is succeeding as well as it should. The basis of our future successes lies in, among other things, the ability to learn how to strike a proper balance in combining everyday decisionmaking with a strictly conceived perception of what must be done in the future. This imperative always takes on a concrete form. Therefore, to cite a few examples, deputies and officials are responsible for seeing to that there is increase in the proportional contribution of volunteer brigade assistance in all projects and that when decisions are being made on the future development of towns and obeces questions of economic efficiency, utility, expediency, and need are considered in close correlation with the dimensions of other tasks in our entire national economy.

The pledges that were adopted in honor of the 60th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution in response to the resolution of the CPCZ Central Committee are also dedicated to this goal. These pledges not only comprise clear goals in the area of initiative, activism, and plan fulfillment, but they also advance valuable suggestions that apply to the educational field and to the effective utilization of leisure time.

That is to say, standard procedural methods cannot always be used to fulfill the intentions of the Czechoslovak educational and training system or the series of demands arising out of the uniform cultural and educational action plans.

At the same time, it has been proven unequivocally and beyond all question that the purpose of the socialist social order is not only the satisfaction of the material needs of the people, but also the making of provisions for their human and cultural growth, for the increase in their level of education, and for the establishment of a socialist way of life.

Special importance is attached to pedagogical work and the education of future generations. The work that is being done along these lines by the Socialist Union of Youth is being backed up by the concern shown by our society as a whole. This is attested to, among other things, by the considerable expansion and great success of the dialogues with young people, whereby young people have an opportunity to learn something about the management work of representative assemblies, to familiarize themselves with their achievements, and to profess their support for new tasks. The concrete support that is being given to the fostering of healthy moral attitudes among young people is expressed, for example, by the fact that during the period 1971-1976 1,000 young people's clubs were started in the CSR. At the same time, they perform important coordinating and integrating functions at the higher levels of the national committees, and in large towns commissions were recently set up for young people and physical education.

In this way the vital continuity and long-range orientation of all work have been provided for under the direction of party organs and organizations.

This is completely in line with the need to fulfill the basic needs of citizens, with the growth of the political-organizational, cultural, and educational duties of the national committees, and the development of proven methods of cooperation with the organs and organizations of the National Front in the interest of the further advancement of socialist democracy and the political and on-the-job activism of citizens.

The experiences of the Soviet Union serve as a great helps model, and example for the national committees. The extent of the rights and duties of the soviets of people's deputies and the tasks of the people's deputy outlined in the draft of the new Constitution of the USSR attest to the impressive advances made by the socialist democracy in practice. A concrete manifestation of this fact, which also provides our country too with a broad panoply of thought-provoking ideas, is the expansion of the legal authority of the soviets of people's deputies as the primary political institutions of the Soviet nation. In the seats of their territorial jurisdictions there are executive management organs, whose deputies are endowed with a full range of powers to represent the Soviet people before any other state organ or before any economic or other organizations.

The general secretary of the Central Committee of the CPSU and the president of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, comrade Leonid Ilich Brezhnev, made the following statement:

"There is no question but that the ratification of the new Constitution of the USSR, the constitution of advanced socialism, the constitution dedicated to the building of communism, will be not only a historic event for our own country, but also a tremendously significant international event.... Our constitution clearly shows the entire world how a socialist state is developed which is acting with ever greater resolve and vigor to promote the cause of socialist democracy; it clearly shows the nature of this socialist democracy and its basic principles. Our constitution reveals the manifold forms and enormous extent of the constantly increasing genuine participation of the broad masses of the people in the management of state and public affairs, something which is unheard of in the bourgeois countries which are in fact ruled only by a large capitalist class. By reading our new constitution people will gain an even clearer understanding of how extensive and how multifaceted are the liberties and rights of the citizens of a socialist society."

Naturally, in conjunction with our study of this fundamentally important document we here in Czechoslovakia will also gradually adopt measures designed to improve and broaden the activities of all representative assemblies and provide for the greater participation of working people in management.

As always, it still holds true that even in the case of the national committees the active and creative participation of the people in the political and public life of our society lies at the heart of all economic, cultural-educational, and political-organizational endeavors. This is an important resource contributing to the many-sided process of the implementation of the goals of socialist democracy.

The National committees are striving systematically to broaden the scope and advance the cause of these goals as well as to bolster their Leninist principles. These goals are reflected in the day-to-day praxis of the national committees not only in their individual decisions and working procedures, but also in every aspect of their work. In the Report to the party's 15th Congress it is rightly said that, "it is through them that the rule of the people is realized in every obec, okres, and kraj."

From this overriding goal are derived the tasks which will confront the national committees--and above all the communists who serve on them--in future years.

Special attention will be devoted to the fulfillment of the goals of the Sixth Five-Year Plan, as was reaffirmed at the recent sessions of the CPCZ Central Committee. In this connection there can be no question but that an integral part of their mission concerns the drive to insure higher quality management and to lay the groundwork for the smooth fulfillment of the plan both by the enterprises in their immediate jurisdictions and by those plants and organizations which are regulated by industry-wide economic organs. Their attention will also be focused on the advancement of education, culture, health care services, social insurance, and the support of physical education, athletic, and social activities, the effective use of leisure time, and so on.

In keeping with these requirements and under the direction of party organizations they want not only to speed up, but also to substantially improve the efficiency of performance in the fulfillment of the election platforms of the National Front.

Directly related to this effort are programs aimed at fulfilling the needs resolving the problems which arose in the wake of the consolidation of obeces and the creation of joint national committees. Similarly, another central preoccupation involves the need to deal with the problems faced by the residents of new housing projects and large cities, especially as viewed from the standpoint of their political and public activities.

The challenges posed by all these tasks are entirely commensurate with the general social goals and the actual resources and potential at the disposal of the national committees.

Generally speaking, this is a question of seeing to it that the degree of coordination that exists between the quality of their performance and the development of society is permanently strengthened.

The resolutions of the 15th Congress of the CPCZ and the decisions arrived at by the individual sessions of the Central Committee provide the entire system of national committees in our republic with an unequivocal and concrete series of working guidelines. For the deputies, officials, for all of the representative assemblies, and for the millions of our fellow citizens this amounts to a course of action marked by productive activism and diligent efforts, a course of action which will insure a happy and contented life for us all.

11813  
CSO: 2400

HARASSMENT OF INDIVIDUAL BY SOCIALIST SYSTEM DEPICTED

Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE in German 7 Oct 77 p 11

[Chronological account by an unnamed GDR female citizen, 24 years of age]

[Text] "In complete helplessness and despair I send you this report"--so ends the letter which a 24-year-old EDP specialist from the GDR sent to the "Society for Human Rights" in Frankfurt. We are publishing the description in a slightly shortened form.

In 1960 I began my schooling at the Benndorf general polytechnic high school, which I completed after 10 years with the best results. In these years I not only acquired a comprehensive factual knowledge, but also achieved initial insights into social occurrences and interrelationships which would not properly harmonize with that factual knowledge.

Many hours of instruction were used to provide the students with the bases and principles of a socialistic social system. There was much which made such a system seem plausible and desirable from an emotional as well as intellectual viewpoint.

But besides this theory there was also practice. We heard about 17 June 1953 and about how the leading functionaries in places of employment discriminate against workers and occasionally deceive or blackmail them, and how very subjectively they interpret the guiding socialist principles and exploit them to abuse their power. We hear about the border and the command to shoot. In addition come our own experiences, perhaps unimpressive, yet so important for our individual development.

A modestly or at times resolutely raised question or criticism--taking seriously the propagandized openness and freedom of opinion--concerning scholastic or social problems could suffice to be considered oppositional and rebellious. The consequences are foreseeable: poor grades, discrimination, failure to advance to secondary school, etc.

In the eighth grade it was generally customary to join the Society for German-Soviet Friendship. All students did so, because they did not dare to oppose

or violate an existing regulation, or did not even consider doing so. I was the only one who did not join. Not because I had anything against this society, but because I was outraged by such tasteless mass action, and joining should really be a matter of free choice.

At that time people already predicted difficulties for me in the further course of my professional life as a result.

In 1970 my professional training began. Within three years I was supposed to learn the trade of a specialist in electronic data processing and to take the school leaving examination at the same time.

I moved from my home town to a boarding house belonging to my training enterprise, the VEB Machine Computing in Halle-Neustadt. Everything was new; one had hopes and expectations; it must exist, this straight path without corruption and demeaning compromises. It must exist somewhere, and finding it would only be a question of patience and persistence. Such was my belief at the time. It just could not all be empty phrases, the talk about freedom of thought, knowledge and opinion, about democracy and humanism. Simply take the talkers and their followers at their word, hit them with their own weapons, they must be able to see, somehow it must be possible to advance without lies and rotten compromises.

But these and other ideals were soon successfully dispelled by the leading teachers of our school. Again attempts were made to force me to join the Society of German-Soviet Friendship, and my refusal was regarded as an aspersion on the USSR and their services to GDR. Extortion was attempted: "You are hindering your comrades in the competition for the title 'Collective of German-Soviet Friendship.'"

I was well regarded by my classmates and was respected for my unconditional integrity and the courage to express my opinion openly. Since in most cases our opinions coincided, I expressed what my classmates in general thought but did not dare to express. The teachers regarded this state of affairs with the greatest discomfiture. They probably feared dissension in our school. They therefore sought out occasions to alienate me from my comrades or preferably to remove me from the school entirely. Several times my parents were summoned in my absence and lied to concerning my behavior; I was even accused of sexual perversion. The assistant director told my father once: "We determine who advances!"

#### The School Paper on a Picture by Masarel Had Consequences

I was particularly criticized for a paper on "My Thoughts about the Picture 'The New Army' by Frans Maserel." My teachers interpreted my statements as innuendoes directed against the NVA. I had to answer for this paper before a panel of several people--even the director of the enterprise participated. It was noteworthy that on this occasion a secretary of the FDJ, quite new

at our school, felt called upon to give a negative critique of me. The director of the enterprise announced that I could be thrown out of school immediately on the basis of this paper, and I need not imagine that with my attitude I would be hired in his enterprise after the end of my training.

An example was to be made. In this way, through almost none of my own doing, I was innocently forced into the role of "counterrevolutionary and enemy of state and class," although I am not at all pugnacious by nature, but simply want to live my life in peace with decency and integrity. My conscience forbade me to dissemble, to cheer and happily affirm things in which I found no sense or justification. Nor did obvious lies, against my better judgment, pass over my lips without reservation. I was unable to demonstrate insight into so-called necessities on command or even to adapt to conditions whose necessity I not only had to doubt but actually considered harmful for this country.

I was forbidden to wear a necklace with a cross, a confirmation gift, with the argument that such a thing had no place in a socialist vocational school. A new girl came to my boarding house room, with whom I soon became friends. She divulged to me that before she came to my room and before she knew me she had been urgently advised to be careful of me and not to have anything to do with me.

The remnants of this period of instruction, besides prejudices against zealous functionaries, are a final evaluation which depicts me quite negatively and a personnel file with various discriminating statements about me--both consciously kept on file in order to hinder or prevent vocational qualification or university study. My classmates had attempted to protest against the evaluation. But they achieved nothing and finally gave up in resignation. The director literally shouted a class delegation out of his office and reproached them for taking the part of a person like me.

The remarks in my personnel file were not known to me, since the employee was not permitted to look at them. I did not learn of them until years later. Both the personnel documents and the final evaluation have to be considered the reason why I received several rejections from enterprises where I sought work in the following months. My application to study in the psychology department of the Humboldt University in Berlin was rejected.

Starting in September 1973 I was without work for the first time. My inclinations and abilities prompted me to apply to Interflug Berlin as a stewardess. I was rejected.

Thereafter I sought a position with VEB PCK Schwedt, which, as I knew, was looking for help. There followed a personnel interview which went well and in which I was as good as promised the job. In order to complete all formalities as soon as possible, the personnel director of this enterprise was kind enough to stop by my vocational school in Halle-Neustadt when he had business

at a branch enterprise, in order to pick up my personnel file. Shortly thereafter I was rejected by this enterprise as well.

On 2 May 1974 I took a position technical clerk in the local museum of the main city in our kreis, Eisleben. This work seemed interesting and varied to me, offered contact with visitors, and provided insight into the historical and territorial context of my home.

Unfortunately, I once again ended up with a reprehensible superior.

The impression could arise that I always want to make others responsible for my failures, in order to divert attention from my own inadequacies. There must certainly be a reason why one always has difficulties with one's superiors--I have often heard this argument, and I cannot blame anyone for having certain reservations about the veracity of my statements. For someone who cannot report himself about such experiences, it often takes too much imagination to put himself in this situation. I assure you that I have tested all my statements from the viewpoints of self-criticism.

Our new director began to supervise all colleagues and to collect "evidence" against all of them. He even accused me of being an enemy and a case for the state's attorney. The working atmosphere was unbearable for everyone. For this reason I applied to Interflug Berlin for a second time, since there was a great lack of personnel there.

During this period there also occurred a chance conversation with a leading member of the SED kreis directorate in Eisleben. We spoke of my desire to study at a university. Indignantly he snapped at me: "You want to study at a university, but I recently saw you in the church." Allegedly at a reading of some pastoral letter, which, however, was not true. "So, that won't do, surely you must see that. Either church or study!"

At Pentecost 1975 I had put a folder containing personal correspondence in my office desk, forgotten it, and gone on a trip. When I returned days later it had vanished from the desk, and I immediately suspected my director of having stolen it. I demanded them back from him and received them. He had allegedly wanted to protect them from being taken by others. This folder contained letters from a French student whom I had met years before and had since corresponded with. As I knew for certain, my director had taken this folder to the state security service in Eisleben.

With two girl friends I had planned a summer trip to Bulgaria via Romania and Hungary. We had requested the exit applications in plenty of time. One day I was summoned by telephone to the kreis office of the people's police in Eisleben. On 1 July they wanted to discuss uncertainties regarding my visa with me. There I was awaited by an MfS [Ministry of State Security] official, who did not introduce himself. I was questioned regarding my travel plans and my traveling companions. He boasted that inquiries had

been made and it had been learned that I hitchhiked and had once violated a swimming regulation (I had swum past a buoy). I had often gotten into conflicts with my teachers and superiors. He gradually made it clear that we were suspected of planning an illegal border crossing. He extorted from me the names of my traveling companions by threatening that otherwise I would not receive a visa. Since we did not intend anything illegal, and thus had nothing to hide, I gave him the names. The date of our planned departure was 28 July, and the unusual proceedings unsettled me. One friend withdrew from the trip by telephone, without citing any reasons. On the very day of my departure I was to come to Eisleben to pick up my visa, as I had been promised on the telephone.

With a packed suitcase and a ticket punched for Budapest, I hurried on the day of my departure to the people's police station to get the promised visa. There I was awaited by two officials of the MfS, one of whom had conducted the first interrogation. In an interrogation lasting several hours, my friend and I were charged with intentions to defect, supposedly reported by my friend herself. They allegedly had "pockets full of evidence" for a planned illegal border crossing. When I demanded to see it, the official shouted at me and threatened me by saying I should not force matters to a head and it would be possible to treat me otherwise than in such a friendly conversation. Verbatim: "Otherwise we'll go elsewhere with you, to the K II next to the pre-trial detention facility; you've heard of that, certainly? There we can talk a little louder with you." Though I had not heard of the K II, the conversation clearly indicated that it meant the threat of torture and was supposed to be understood by me in that way.

Further conversation indicated that we had been watched for a long time at home and abroad. From further, private matters known to the MfS I had to infer that they had extorted their information from my friend, who had been interrogated the day before. As I later learned from her mother, she had in fact suffered serious harassment. She repeatedly received anonymous calls and was threatened. She was supposed to break off contact with me, because otherwise she would lose her place at the university.

That day our personal identity documents were confiscated from both of us for half a year.

As a result of these experiences I suffered severe depressions. I had never considered such incidents to be possible. In that moment it began to become clear to me that there was no future for me in this country, and I considered filing an application to depart.

My other friend, who had unexpectedly withdrawn from the trip, anxiously reported to me that she had received an anonymous letter with the words: "Break off contact with Eisleben immediately, otherwise you are lost."

After the vacation, the personnel directorate of the city council pressured me: "Either tell me in writing that you maintain no contacts with capitalist countries abroad or we must part from you." This threat to fire me was carried out in October 1976.

Meanwhile I had changed departments at my own request and had optimal working conditions. In June 1976 I received permission to take a trip to Bulgaria to spend my vacation alone. The visa was prepared but was taken back under a pretext. I complained at the kreis office of the people's police in Eisleben and submitted a petition to the MfS in Berlin asking for an explanation. I never received one. On 27 July 1976 I was taken from my office by three MfS officials and driven to their office. Two officials interrogated me for nine hours. The ever recurring question: "How long have you wanted to leave the GDR illegally, with whom, with whose help?" etc. One official stood up menacingly next to me and shouted at me that the interrogation could also be conducted elsewhere with other methods, which I would not be able to stand for long. After nine hours I was completely unnerved and was released. My personal identification was once again taken from me. The substitute ID contains a reproduction of the passport photo and is thus considered falsified. Colleagues and friends were likewise interrogated by the MfS. They were forbidden to have dealings with me. In my absence, personal effects in my office were ransacked. After these experiences I was unable to work for two weeks. My personal physician suggested a referral to a specialist in nervous diseases, which I rejected.

After my vacation my superiors urged me to go to the city council to resign from my position, although they were very satisfied with my work. On this occasion the remarks in my personnel file were also shown to me, which I had known nothing of previously. Shortly thereafter I resigned.

Several places of employment to which I applied rejected me. MfS officials also appeared in our household and questioned neighbors about me. A former playmate was sent to pump me. Several letters vanished. I learned from a friend, who was also interrogated several times, that we had been watched and photographed while visiting Prague together.

Since 19 January 1977 I have worked as a nurse's aid in a Protestant nursing home for brain-damaged children in Beesenstedt/Saalkreis.

In view of these circumstances I submitted an initial application for release from citizenship in the GDR to the appropriate authorities in Eisleben and Berlin in March 1977. It was rejected. Thereupon I filed a second application. This was also rejected, and it was declared a violation of law.

For a Year and a Half I Have Had no Personal Identification

On 12 July 1977 an acquaintance and I, while making an excursion, were shadowed by at least six MfS officials traveling in two automobiles. Several

times in the next few days numerous officials called on my father and asked about my acquaintance. As I learned later, two of my friends have been under investigative custody since August. They had attempted to escape. A further acquaintance had already been arrested in May for the same reason. In all cases their houses were searched and their friends interrogated numerous times. I also expect another interrogation. I could be provoked to statements or actions which could be interpreted as defamation of the state and could lead to my imprisonment.

This and other worries oppress me constantly. I feel continually threatened and observed and live in continual anxiety. I am accused, no doubt rightly, of increasing aggressiveness and extreme fluctuations in mood. Besides this anxiety, there is also the despair about my fate, about this life, in which I can no longer see any goal or meaning.

I have already sacrificed too much of my youth, and some day I will have to say the same of my whole life, if I do not do something now to give this life back its meaning and attempt to fulfill some vocational and private wishes and yearnings. All this seems impossible here. For a year and a half I have had no personal identification, nor will I get it back in the coming year. My friendships were forceably destroyed. I am not allowed to see relatives and acquaintances abroad. I am now almost 24 years old and should really already have made substantial plans for life and begun to realize them. Instead, all plans founder. There are no prospects for the future. My former joy in life yields more and more to pessimism. How am I supposed to be able to have a family, children, for whom life here, in my experience, is an unreasonable demand?

On 9 September 1977 I sent the third application for release from citizenship in the GDR to the Ministry of the Interior in Berlin, citing the appropriate legal grounds and giving my reasons. But I do not expect a positive reply.

8992  
CSO: 2300

WEST GERMAN OBSERVATIONS ON MORALE IN GDR CITIES

Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE in German 7 Oct 77 p 9

Article by Fernando Wassner: "After Three Days the Intended Goodwill Disappears: Workaday Observations in the GDR -- Isn't It Similar in the Ruhr Area...? -- Differences, Agreements"

Text Leipzig, 6 October -- "Over 30, and you've never been in the GDR? Well, then, welcome!", says the GDR Border Guard, as he helps fill out a form that the wind would like to blow away, and starts a friendly conversation. No matter how great one's intention to disregard everything one has ever heard about the East, the zone, the so-called GDR or the German Democratic Republic and its state organs, the resolve to look at everything without rancor or bigotry -- just as one would do with a country like Finland, for instance -- immediately breaks down. Even the friendliness of the guard makes one nervous. "Oh yes, they're usually friendly, but always polite," says an experienced GDR traveler later on.

The newcomer is as scrupulous about observing the speed limits as he has ever been in his life. Could it be that he has heard about the draconian monitoring of traffic regulations over here?

Out of hunger and curiosity, we get off the autobahn and enter a nondescript village. The streets are deserted, the houses look shabby -- not very inviting. We saw wretched-looking villages in Morocco too, but the type of construction is different there; one cannot compare. Of course, they build the same way in Belgium, France or the Federal Republic, but we don't want to compare. Our hunger is not to be satisfied. The restaurant -- the most inviting thing about it is the name, "The Red Ox" -- turns out to be closed. "Because of vacation, by authority of the council," reads the sign in the window.... That's right, the innkeeper is a state employee over here. One cannot simply go away on vacation without permission. The sign is only logical.

Leipzig: The run-down look about the old tenements takes one's breath away. The sun, hanging low in the sky, pitilessly highlights the uneven crust of soot, every crack, every door dangling by its hinges. Are those shrapnel marks left over from the war? Gradually the firmly preconceived goodwill returns: Be honest; remember the rows of buildings you saw in the Ruhr district, in the Borinage area. You wouldn't have wanted to live there either, but those who did were nice people. It is simply that industrial cities tend to look like this.

The pleasant ladies at the agency that locates rooms in private homes search and finally come up with something: "You'll like this apartment in an old renovated building." Aha, plastered ceilings and lovingly decorated facades. Upon closer inspection, Leipzig is a surprisingly large city -- just where did our estimate of something on the order of Giessen on the Lahn come from? The newcomer gets lost. Twice he drives right by his street because he is unable to find the colorful old buildings. That is because there are none. The pleasant ladies had meant a four-room apartment in a social housing project, in one of the grim rows of buildings, one which has even been given running hot water recently -- quite up to standard. Really? Standard for whom?

The man, the host, is a metalworker with 3 years to go before retirement; she is a housewife. Consequently, both of the old people are quite satisfied. Rainer Kunze -- tossed into the conversation as an opener -- they don't really know anything about him. The host gladly accepts a drink of whiskey from the traveler's flask; the hostess puts supper on the table. It is no different from what the guest eats at home. The man brings beer. The guest is astonished at how fast the foam settles. The host notices the look. "Tomorrow I'll see if I can get hold of some export beer." What does he mean, get hold of?

Over night our car out front has acquired a greasy layer of gray-brown dust. The air also smells of brown coal, of exhaust from gasoline engines, of thick, dark clouds of diesel fumes that trucks leave in their wake. How long did it take for "environmental protection" to acquire a positive connotation in the Federal Republic?

One learns one thing quickly: When West German currency comes into the picture, people's eyes take on the look of children at Christmas. One has to be careful not to act like a newly rich nabob.

The shop windows indicate an adequate supply of foodstuffs, but somehow they don't seem very colorful. A department store calls itself "Magnet," but the inscription over the display windows has rather the opposite effect from what the name implies -- the effect of an advertisement for a beard preparation from the year 1886 --

quite touching. There is a line of perhaps 20 women standing in front of a "HO" [state trade organization] shop, but 50 men are waiting in front of a "Wartburg-Trabant" dealership. Incidentally, to a man's eye there is nothing conspicuous about the clothing -- looking back, the people in Aachen and Clermont-Ferrand do not seem any more dashing.

In Frankfurt/Main it is necessary to make reservations at many restaurants when trade fairs are in progress. That is true here as well, but everywhere and all the time. Chance leads us to a kind of coffee house/wine pub/snack bar next to the church of Bach, the cantor. Strangely enough, it is half empty. Very pretty, its decor tends toward the baroque and rococo, with mirrors and gold frames. The young waiter is wearing an appropriate "uniform." On the left, two girls are drinking vermouth with lemon and attempting to look coquettish. On the right are five people who act like beatniks and talk like existentialists. Superimposed on this scene is the sound of recorded music that fits in with neither the decor nor the attire of the waiter -- the oily tones of Ray Coniff and the like. But tinkly baroque music belongs here; it doesn't have to be non-stop Bach. "Fine," says the manager, "but..." Well, the guest is thinking, why doesn't he go to the nearest store and buy a few records; after all, they're really inexpensive. The voice of the manager brings him up short: "But the restaurant organization can't supply them all that fast." I haven't yet understood, the stranger has to admit, that he is not allowed to simply buy something.

A dance hall in this unfamiliar land. The air is oppressive, and since food and drink are served along with recorded and live music, there is rather a mixture of odors. We have been apprised in advance of the happy fact that here two people who seem to be paired off are not necessarily a pair. Unlike at home, where -- depending upon the place -- 70 to 99 percent of the pleasure-seekers are already spoken for upon arrival, here everything is still up in the air. Open competition, so to speak. For example, a girl shows up who is not only pretty but is different from the others. The cavalier discovers only little by little that his success is not exactly the result of his winning ways but has to do with the lot of the beautiful, a discovery that could be considered funny if it were not so sad: She is a salesgirl in a clothing store, and fashion is her business. In any metropolis of the Western world she would be, if she wished, a butterfly, one who desires little but clothes and the accessories of femininity. But this very thing, fashion, the opportunity to dress differently than others do, does not exist, she complains. She, thank goodness, has her own sources and other connections. Suddenly it becomes clear what separates her from the others: Her pants, top and perfume would be commonplace in Hamburg, Manchester or Bordeaux; here they are not. But this triumph makes her life miserable. When she waits on her equally fashion

-conscious customers, as she enjoys doing, and they want "something like what you're wearing, Fraeulein," then she has to turn them down. This makes her customers angry, and they suspect the worst of her.

A side trip to Dresden: The street leading into the city is paved with cobblestones. The streetcar tracks in the middle have sunk so deep that there are gullies like the ones in ancient Rome that were used to keep teams of horses on the right track. The surprised driver of a car has all he can do to keep his vehicle on the road. With a motorcycle, "the gullies aren't half bad," remarks one of two grinning students, who later give directions to the "Blue Wonder" and to the view of the Elbe from above Dresden. He earned the motorcycle by doing construction work, and then he adds a bit uncertainly, "and then there are my parents." After all, who wants to say that there are parents from whom one will inherit something now and then? The two friends are cutting their classes today, for on the one hand they are tired of "this dialectical rubbish"; on the other, their heads are still spinning from last night's beer. So these are average students, who perhaps differ from their fellow students in Cologne only in their enthusiastic chatter about the liberal conditions in Poland. "They even have porno magazines there. Not that we think much of them, but one can have a look once in a while."

From the outside at least, the new buildings around the few remaining historical treasures of Dresden have nothing to be ashamed of when compared with the architectural standards of social housing projects in Frankfurt/Main. In a quiet corner of the palace, the Transport Police have on display a truly impressively mangled vehicle. A sign explains which traffic regulations must be broken if one is to produce this kind of discriminating art form: "1. Drunken driving 2. Illegal merging onto the autobahn 3. Excessive speed." As the saying goes, "Practice makes perfect."

The middle-aged woman at a nearby table in a provincial town asked whether that was a Western newspaper that we were reading. It was, and we gave it to her. All of a sudden the kaffeeklatsch is over. She quickly folds the paper to about the size of her hand, puts it in her bag and goes off "to have a cozy evening of reading." One who has been looking on with amusement offers the opinion that the former owner of the paper will surely take home with him a typical impression of the GDR. But, he says, generalizations of this kind and others are faulty. He is evidently a rather successful designer; he designs booths for trade fairs. Unlike all the others we have come across so far, he says for all to hear that he has no qualms about saying and reading everything he thinks is right. (Two young people at the same table glance around, do not order anything and take leave of the party, which is obviously making them

uncomfortable.) The designer expresses what others before him have only suggested: Nothing can happen to anyone here; destitution is never a threat. What are petty shortcomings of everyday life in comparison? Of course he speaks openly to all who would hear; after all, criticism is allowed. The visitor feels rather naive: Who is right, the fainthearted or the one across from him?

The inspection at the border on the way home takes only a smooth 16 minutes. Nevertheless, somehow the intended goodwill has disappeared in the space of 3 days. Why is that, we wonder.

7458  
CSO: 2300

EAST GERMANY

BRIEFS

ATTACKS AGAINST 'AERIAL ESPIONAGE'--East Berlin has attacked the FRG on account of alleged "aerial espionage." Referring to repeated violations of GDR airspace by Bundeswehr aircraft, the East Berlin illustrated magazine NBI stated in its most recent edition that no other European NATO state had "developed so many activities of that nature in peace-endangering aerial espionage" as the Federal Republic. The espionage activities were allegedly planned and directed by the so-called A 2 service of the Bundeswehr, a branch of the FRG military secret service. According to NBI there was "no doubt that such actions directed against the sovereignty and security of the affected European states violate the spirit as well as the letter of the Final Act of Helsinki." [Text] [Bonn IWE-TAGESDIENST in German No 205, 26 Oct 77 p 1]

CSO: 2300

## STUDY SHOWS PARTY, PROVINCES STIFLE INTELLECTUAL INITIATIVE

Budapest VALOSAG in Hungarian No 10, 1977 pp 61-72

[Article by Pal Banlaky: "Trippers At The Start"]

[Excerpts] (Preliminary note) In this article, we will discuss phenomena which make the start of careers of young intellectuals, starting their work in smaller cities, more difficult. I think, these phenomena are not, by any means, limited to smaller cities. Yet scientific ethics demands that I draw the circle of applicability of what I have to say, in this manner: the major part of my work and life experience thus far has furnished material for me about the lives of smaller cities. For the time being, I must leave it to the reader to decide, whether the phenomena described are valid in other--not small city--media also, and if so, to what extent and with what modifications.

A few weeks after our chance meeting with Csaba K. on the train, we met again. I visited him. We talked in a threesome, with one of his friends from there, Laszlo B., who is teaching Marxism in a local higher educational institution. During this conversation, this also was told to me by them:

"We got to...about the same time. We found each other quite soon, a quite good group of friends was formed. A broader circle of acquaintances also developed from our places of work and from here and there, there were teachers, one or two doctors, also lawyers, all young intellectuals. We used to meet without any regularity, in espressos and on the street, and somehow the idea developed that a kind of intellectual club should be formed. The head of the library was also one of us, thus we arranged to meet in the library's reading room once a week, after closing time. We talked, there was one among us who wrote, he read it for us, and we debated it, there was a drawing teacher who painted, he brought his paintings, and I--says Csaba K.--brought my own technological problems, and it was also good that way that they commented on them from another viewpoint, in other words, from a non-technical outlook. The whole thing went on for a few weeks, perhaps months, then the librarian said he can no longer provide the place. We guessed that there was something fishy, but he did not want to tell us what. We kept asking him until he gave in: he was told "from above" to terminate

such illegal meetings. Well, we went to the comrades in question, asking, what's happening. The answer was that when they will need the opinion of young intellectuals, they will then organize the thing, but until then there is no need for any kind of spontaneous, unsupervisable gathering. Thus the whole thing was left at that, we stayed to ourselves with the small group of friends."

Dissolution of the intellectual club. Besides the motivations of comfort and security, fear also appears. Anxiety over prestige and power. As long as the young people come one at a time with their ideas and problem-posing, it is relatively easy to disarm them, or in the final measure, call them off with a word of power. (See above, group pressure!) But when similar thinking youth form a group, their ideas should be dealt with on the merit, exactly because of the group background, which lends power. They should be debated with; not with the individual people, but with the group which more or less thinks alike. This is quite a bit more difficult, and the debate's outcome is also more in doubt. It could be, that the strength of their arguments, strengthening each other, would exclude the possibility of non-recognition, that merely by the strength of the truth-content of their ideas, ripened in internal debates, they would force action deviating from routine. Action, which is risky exactly because of its newness, lack of routine, the result of which cannot be calculated with complete certainty. The question is, could a medium, bogged down into its own routine, keep securely under its own supervision a process just begun? A question is, would not such a process perhaps lead to the questioning of the entire system (or part of the system) of routine actions? (Let us say, for example, that debates of the club of young intellectuals question the correctness of the management and organization of public education in the given small city). If yes, then all this may have consequences also regarding the entire activity, in extreme cases the status of those who conduct (direct) the given activity. Thus, fear is the moving spring that--as also in our story--they often chose the simplest solution; they eliminate the spontaneous initiative administratively, as "if it does not exist, it cannot cause problems."

Originally, Erzsebet M. was a skilled worker. A real community person; did many kinds of community work with all her heart, and did them well. They noticed her, lifted her up, took her to the jaras seat as political worker of the KISZ [Communist Youth League] committee.

"I worked at the jaras KISZ-committee. I had ideas about the work. You know, I came here from..., it was good there. How can I say...it develops in the person, that it should be done this way, and that way. They wanted something else here... In my opinion, the whole thing is very mechanical, very formal... But when I came here, I was still just a kid. And until then, I did it only from the outside...that is, as social work... When I started to say that in my opinion, this is what should be, and that is how it should be, they silenced me...I am a romantic...and it is another thing to do it just like that; here, there's responsibility...and central guide principles, bigtime politics, etcetera. I believed that they were right,

3

after all, they are leading comrades, they surely know what must be done. I did it, and I do not know if you can understand it, I did it with belief, stood up for it, argued. Because I believed in it, believed that this is what the Hungarian society needs. In the meanwhile, I knew that this is not the real thing...Do you understand it? At the same time, I believed that I am doing what society expects of me, and together with this, I was sure that not this, but something else, something better should be done...I could not take it very long, I had to leave it, before they carry me to the nuthouse..."

Thus, for Erzsebet M. no new self-evaluation, defined by the reactions of her surroundings developed. When she accepted and lived through the unbridgeable conflict between her own values and the demands of the environment, she could not absorb this situation, in actuality she lost herself. She became uncertain, was unable to decide whether she is right or those who demand different work from her, than what she considers correct. The ambivalence thus formed nearly ground her up.

Erzsebet M. was lifted out from the workbench into the apparatus. She was 20 years of age then, healthy, well balanced, happy about life and unbelievably energetic. After 5 years, she weighed 10 kilos less, constantly took Seduxen and sleeping pills, and was always confused, uncertain, could not say a sound sentence. Thus, after 5 years she could not take it any longer, wanted to go back to her trade. They did not allow her to do so. The city's leadership, naturally informally, unofficially passed the word to the directors of all of the city's plants which could come under consideration:

Erzsebet M. is not to be hired! Part of the reason is that "that is not why we sent her to school" (during the 5 years, she graduated from high school and completed a school in [political] movement), and part of it is, "how would it look if she were just like that to go from the apparatus to a factory." She could not go to another city (she got married in the meanwhile), thus she stayed at home, to be a housewife. (Strictly speaking, it does not belong here, but I will still relate that finally her life became regular after all: her husband's situation also became impossible, so they moved to another city where Erzsebet could, without any problem, go back to the workbench. Since then, she is again relaxed and satisfied).

Naturally, Ferenc K. wanted to also do some scientific work. Driven by his interest which developed then, he decided to conduct a study to discover the profile, development of students' world outlook. He succeeded in winning his superior's approval. After several consultations with the best domestic experts of the subject, he conducted a professionally well-based, methodologically correct study. The job was completed, and he presented it to the authorities of his institution who, without offering any particular reason, related that the study is no good, the results are fakes. To wit, Ferenc K. showed that the students' world outlook profile is not so uniformly positive at all as the authorities believed, and there is no growth of the extent and

uniformity as would be expected on the basis of studying the ideological subjects. Ferenc K. defended his truth in a bitter debate. He also referred to the fact that experts consider his study of such level that they wish to publish it in a magazine. His boss definitely forbade publication: "This article must not be published, man after all does not mess into his own nest."

Laszlo B., beginner Marxism-instructor, was sent to do a half year of practical party work, in accordance with practice at the time. He substituted for the city party committee's co-worker who was on academic leave, thus in essence he had an independent job. One of his experiences:

"I had only been working in the apparatus for a few weeks, when they sent me to the committee meeting of a large plant. The topic was within my circle of activity, they said I should go out, orient myself, learn. I listened to the presentation and a comment or two, then I thought, there are a few things worth my telling. I really tried to word it modestly, in a conditional sense; the area was still new, also that was the first time I had been in that plant. At the end of the debate, the debate's moderator especially thanked me for my valuable and important comment, and submitted all my idea-fractures as proposed resolution... He was a clean, hard man over 50, one of the most humane men I have ever met... Since the time when he was a helper, he has been working in the plant. Decades of past in the movement... What I, the kid in his twenties and without experience, stammered, was neither significant nor very wise... Then why? Simply, because I just then happened to be the representative of the municipal organ, of the higher forum."

Interpretation of Ferenc K.'s investigation of world outlook is quite simple. To wit, the particular ideological outlook of the "authorities"--Ferenc K.'s immediate superiors, the leaders of the higher educational institute--is drawn clearly: it is impossible that our world--the institution--is not perfect. This outlook stems fundamentally from their internal insecurity: they do not have the proper (and well founded) professional and leadership-pedagogical self-confidence. Thus they could not measure with sufficient accuracy, which of the problems that occur, are the occasional errors, and which are the ones that weigh so heavily in the eyes of higher authorities (for example, the ministry) that they may even endanger their existence as leaders, and which are the ones simply qualifiable as corrigible errors. Thus it is safest not to recognize these things; to maintain an appearance, the appearance of perfectness. If something is still found out--as in the investigation of Ferenc K.--it must be hidden, kept a secret, denied; there can be no breach on the appearance of being perfect!

The story of Laszlo B. refers to something else again, a sphere of phenomena deeper and more general than before.

And in the media in which Laszlo B. moved--and here we must, naturally think not only and not even primarily of the party committee, but of the medium of the given small city--the most varied "licenses" are linked not to a person,

to personal knowledge, respect, but are linked to post, to position. Thus, if someone--even if only temporarily--comes into a specific post or position, he automatically comes to possess the licenses associated with it. (In Laszlo B.'s case, his opinion was accepted not as his, but as the opinion of the worker of the party committee. But naturally we also speak here of the possession of "licenses" of a very different kind; for example, placement of the child into a nursery out of turn--this is also Laszlo B.'s personal experience). The person does not matter here. These licenses do not have to be deserved by acts. The valid authorization belongs not to the acting man, but the man filling the specified position. The man, the person in itself is uninterested and invalid. He wins recognition only as a role, one occupying a specified position.

A further consequence of this situation is that man, to a certain extent, loses his own identity. Actually, he does not know who he is, he knows only what post he fills (or may fill). Therefore, then, he naturally does not endeavor to build himself, to enrich his own personality, but to occupy ever higher positions, and increasing knowledge, revealing his abilities are not preconditions of this.

8584

CSO: 2500

LIPSKI INTERVIEWED CONCERNING POLISH-FRG TALKS

Warsaw DZIENNIK LUDOWY in Polish 11 Jul 77 p 3

[Interview with Dr Witold Lipski, member of the Presidium of the United Peasant Party Supreme Committee, by Kazimierz Baranowski: "A Contribution to Normalization, If ..."; date and place not given]

[Text] The first meeting of the Polish-FRG discussion forum established in the Joint Declaration signed by Edward Gierek and Helmut Schmidt on 11 June 1976 took place in Bonn from 13 to 16 June 1977. In the first discussion meeting, 30 Polish and 50 West-German politicians, scientists, journalists and public figures took part. Among the participants in the forum were two United Peasant Party activists--Supreme Committee presidium member Witold Lipski and Supreme Committee member Leon Janczak.

Below we print excerpts of a conversation which we held with Dr Witold Lipski, who was co-chairman of one of the two commissions of the forum, namely the commission on economic cooperation.

[Question] I have heard and read various opinions on this topic--hence we should perhaps begin with the question of utility: was the forum useful?

[Answer] We can say without any ambivalence that such a forum is necessary, and it was good that it was convoked. We will be meeting from time to time alternately in the FRG and in our country. Did this first discussion contribute something of use? That depends above all on what influence the joint conclusions and the mutual affirmations shared by the participants in the forum--which is a social and not an intergovernmental institution--will have on the practice of intergovernmental cooperation, on the practice of neighborly relations.

[Question] Was the forum also considered a stage in the preparation for the visit of the Federal Chancellor to Poland, which has been announced for the fall, just as was the case with the recent visit of SPD Chairman Willy Brandt?

[Answer] Certainly, also under that aspect. The visit of Chancellor Schmidt will be a concrete and important event in the realization of the program of normalizing relations between our two states. It was known in advance that the process of normalization would not be easy or realizable in a short period of time. Starting out from the realistic position that our relations are encumbered by a simply unimaginable debt, it is easy to reach the conclusion that normalization will require activity on many levels. A further factor is that difficulties in the process of normalization became evident after the conclusion of the 1970 treaty and the package of agreements signed in Helsinki, during the visit of Minister Genscher in Poland in the fall of 1975. Some of these difficulties are baffling even if certain unfavorable internal events in the FRG and outside of that country in the West are taken into account.

[Question] Is it possible to say that under these circumstances the discussion in the forum assumed a special significance?

[Answer] I believe that against the background of these unfavorable events and especially in view of the strong activization of forces unfriendly to the process of detente in the FRG and in the world in general, the discussion in the forum was very necessary. Discussion is in general necessary in the process of normalization, but under these conditions it was particularly useful. In this context the representativeness and the level of the participants in the meeting needs to be considered, for there were, after all, representatives of all political, professional and social groups which count.

In our summing-up of the discussion we stated that in the majority of the matters discussed we arrived at a better understanding or explanation, and in some instances at a common evaluation. Under the pressure of our arguments, those who had doubts at least came to understand our position better, I hope, and those who hold a viewpoint similar to ours gained from our side additional explanations.

We likewise obtained an explanation of certain matters, and even if we cannot accept some things, at least we know what are the sources of certain views, what conditions them, and so on.

[Question] I should like here to express my doubts whether the value of this type of meeting is not reduced by the burden resulting from the requirements of politeness and moderation in the formulation of opinions?

[Answer] Probably every formal gathering--and that means every gathering with a chairman, where speakers are called upon to take the floor--is burdened with some kind of protocol. In this case, however, the groups were so small, and apart from that--and this I consider an important achievement--everything came up for discussion, even the most touchy matters. In addition to the plenary sessions of the forum and those of the

two commissions, discussions took place in the lobby, during coffee breaks, at the meals and receptions. At those times we talked informally, directly, and these conversations did not remain without influence on the outcome of the meeting itself.

[Question] It would be interesting to hear how the representatives of the CDU/CSU behaved, what position they assumed with respect to the process of normalization?

[Answer] I shall by-pass here those CDU/CSU representatives whose presentations deviated so far from the actual view of the matter that they would require an extensive critical reply. But among others there were two brothers there, eminent representatives of the CDU/CSU: Klaus and Philipp von Bismarck. As I managed to learn, they exhibited much understanding for Poland's position. However, this does not extend to all matters. For instance, they revealed an inclination towards an "equal ranking of sufferings." On the one hand, first innocent Poles suffered in consequence of the German aggression, then later innocent Germans suffered as a result of resettlement.

[Question] This indicates that this outrageous standard, which Chancellor Schmidt wanted to abolish in his address of 9 June 1976, is still being applied there. It is worth quoting here the following excerpt from his speech:

"The events which occurred between Germans and Poles from Hitler's attack on Poland and during the following years left deep marks in the consciousness of our nations. We cannot reject this past as superfluous ballast, for the experiences of nations are political facts.

"I speak openly: the suffering and sacrifices of countless Poles who were accused of nothing at all but that they were Poles, the barbaric devastation, all this was brought about by Germans in the name of a wrongly understood concept of Germanism. As Germans, we cannot and we do not want to wash our hands of this, to point at individual criminals and brush aside history. There is no room here for forgetfulness; there can be forgiving--the decision on this rests in the hands of those who suffered."

[Question] Does it emerge from the discussions in the forum that this formula, which is one we can accept, is not generally approved in those circles which came to sit at the table with us?

[Answer] Unfortunately the position expressed by Chancellor Schmidt is not generally shared in the FRG. Having understood that this is a difficult discussion for our partners since a reasonable position in these matters asserts itself with difficulty or altogether does not meet with applause among a significant part of the West German society, we drew from

this fact different conclusions than some of our partners. We argued that this makes it that much more necessary to tackle this problem, that in this respect not only discussions are required, but also appropriate educational activities.

[Question] And here we come to touch on a most fundamental issue: how children are brought up, so will be the future adult society. Hence the question of school books. What about this matter?

[Answer] We did raise also this inordinately important matter and attempted to explain its significance to our discussion partners. A large number of them, by the way, was aware of its importance.

In sum it can be said that on a significant part of the problems we acknowledged jointly that:

--In spite of impediments normalization of relations between the Polish People's Republic and the FRG is developing;

--The single, exclusive and unquestionable basis for normalization are the treaties and agreements concluded between the governments, and in particular the treaty of 1970 and the agreement of 1976;

--We are aware of the existing difficulties and impediments in the process of normalization, but these it is necessary to treat as an additional impulse to various forms of activity;

--The process of normalization cannot be limited to governmental activities, but should comprise the social climate, and in particular the climate among the young people.

Insofar as the difficulties and troubles are concerned, we acknowledged as most important the problems of the interpretation of the treaties and agreements by certain circles, organizations, and even by some state institutions--at issue here is the interpretation applied to these treaties by the Constitutional Court and the pronouncement of the Social Court in concrete cases.

[Question] What is of interest in the economic area?

[Answer] This interested me particularly, since I was the co-chairman of the economic commission of the forum. There we concentrated mainly on ways to eliminate difficulties in bilateral cooperation. What is at issue here are the problems which result from the impediments created in the FRG for access of our goods to the West German market. We have always been partners ready for constructive cooperation, and we will remain so in the future. We are especially interested in the creation of factors stimulating higher and long-term forms of economic cooperation.

In this respect the representatives of the working class were closer to our position than, for instance, even the representatives of the coalition Free Democratic Party. In these matters further discussions are necessary, as well as new initiatives and concrete, reasonable projects.

We tried to make our conversation partners aware of the fact that in consequence of huge investments the structure and capacity of our industry has changed fundamentally, and that taking account of this progress is the basic condition for further long-term cooperation between Poland and the FRG.

9108

CSO: 2600

UNEVEN DISTRIBUTION OF TEACHERS REMAINS A PROBLEM

Warsaw SZTANDAR MLODYCH in Polish 15 Aug 77 p 4

[Article by ELZBIETA CHECINSKA: "I Won't Go To the Country, I'll Stay With My Family"]

[Text] There is a tremendous social need for teachers with diplomas, particularly now at the eve of the national educational reform. This fact was the decisive point several years ago in the creation of teaching specialization in many university curricula, in the disappearance of the SN [Teachers' College] and WSN [Higher School for Teachers] and the establishment of higher pedagogical schools. The Sejm law defining a teacher as an expert with a diploma from a higher educational institution is one of the most important documents placing the teacher high in the professional hierarchy.

A good school is primarily a good and wise teacher. We are educating teachers and updating the training of the "old" cadre. Every year the higher institutions of education turn out a throng of thousands of students of the teaching profession. This year, because studies have been shortened one year, the number of graduates has doubled. What jobs are offered to them, where they awaited, how do their own plans and ambitions fit in with proposals? These are the questions which I have tried to answer.

Ministry of Science, Higher Education and Technology

In the Department for Matters of Youth my conversation with Director Eugeniusz Pietrasik was short. I primarily received numerical data. There are 16,500 graduates, specialists with teaching competence, 5,717 of them from the WSP [Higher Pedagogical School]. Only toward the end of August did a real rush begin to look for work. This is because some of the graduates took advantage of the last vacation to which they were entitled, postponing defense of their master's work until September. Data obtained from the Ministry of Education shows that there are many jobs waiting for

them. Most of them are in gmina schools. In order to assure a full staff of cadre for the new school year, superintendent's offices even sign contracts with those who have a certificate, but not yet a diploma.

But what do the teaching institutions know about the fate of their graduates, how do they guide them during their years of study and prepare them for a definite profession of one type or another? Do the students know what kind of jobs are waiting for them after they have graduated? Director Pietrasik replied that the institution authorities cooperate with the procurators for matters of employment, and that the students in various departments are informed about the jobs waiting for them.

However, this is theory because practice is completely different. As a matter of fact conversations with students reveal that not much is said about future work, and that after finishing their studies they usually seek work on their own. The educational institutions know nothing about the fate of their graduates. The graduates get their diploma and disappear. They are no longer under the Ministry of Higher Education, and some other ministry takes them over.

#### Ministry of Labor, Wages and Social Affairs

In the Department for Matters of Employment, Director Eugeniusz Dobosz did not confirm the numerical data regarding the number of graduates in pedagogical courses, candidates for the teaching profession. He explained that not all of them had finished their studies yet, so that not much is known about how many persons will be looking for work.

This is true, but after all the Ministry planning jobs must find a base on some kind of real data. This is even more so, as Director Dobosz confirmed, because there is a sufficient number of them. But what does sufficient mean? I asked about the number, but the data were kept from me. Then I asked, something obvious for me, whether the greatest number of jobs are in education, and especially in the gminas. Director Dobosz confirmed that it was not possible to create artificial jobs where there are none, namely in the larger and smaller cities where the graduates want to work. A person choosing a particular profession should be aware of the fact that he will have to work where he is needed. The national economy must be controlled by definite rules. In order to equalize the living standards between country and city it is necessary to skillfully distribute the creative forces.

At this point Director Dobosz piles up examples. Of every 1,000 inhabitants employed in Warsaw, 130 have a higher education, while in Jelenia Gora there are only 30. The gminas need teachers who have completed their studies. In Bialystok there are 182 open positions and offerings have attracted only 27 persons. There are 141 jobs in Siedlce, but only 38 willing to take them, and in Zamosc 21 persons applied for 135 jobs.

So there is no lack of jobs. Of necessity many teachers are still working in the country without proper preparation. There is no one to replace them. The young people do not want to go to the country. It is not true that poor living conditions are a reason for this, because the superintendents' offices verify the condition of living quarters offered.

It is simply that the city attracts the young people. Even those who came from the country do not want to return.

But does this mean that every teacher, whether he majored in Polish, mathematics or history, finds a place for himself conformable to his qualifications? Unfortunately Director Dobosz does not have available any data referring to the need for definite specialists. However he was able to assure me that those who do not find jobs in schools are employed in other units of the economy, even if it is in personnel or social branches.

#### Ministry of Education and Upbringing

The Director of the Department of Cadres, Wieslaw Kulminski had a short telephone conversation with me. He stated that there are no jobs for teachers in the cities and that there will not be any for the next few years. On the other hand the country is clamoring for them. Only 2,776 persons applied for work where there are 5,797 jobs waiting. The school year is at hand and the schools do not have full staff complements. The superintendents' offices visit graduates for conversations and make proposals, but the young people vanish at the word "country".

I repeated my question whether there is work for teachers of all specialties. It turns out that there is, but naturally in the gminas, in elementary schools where only 30 percent of the teachers working have a higher education.

Young people do not want to work in the country, and Director Kulminski holds it against them that they do not understand that a rapid balance between standards of living in the country and in the city depends on their efforts and on their participation. They are the ones who should bring the changes.

#### The School Superintendents' Office in Warsaw

I visited Wladyslaw Medrzycki, the cadre head. I inquired whether there were any jobs available for teachers in Warsaw and whether the situation would change during the next 5 years. They are wanted in the gminas, but unfortunately there is a lack of willing persons even where proper living conditions are offered to them. These include Celestynow, where a physics teacher is needed, and Stare Babice, where four Polish teachers are needed. For 3 years the superintendents' office has been making full use of the living fund in the gminas, repairing old buildings and building apartments

for teachers. Leader Medrzycki wonders why today's youth are so different, why they cannot find a spark of enthusiasm in themselves and why they will not go where they are wanted, where they are necessary?

I still had to visit the country to get the full picture of the situation. In the superintendents' office in Lomza the situation was similar. Only 17 persons of the 51 who applied for 129 jobs accepted one. Cadre manager Zienislaw Ciborowski hopes that more will appear near the end of August. So much for offers. But there is another side, this year's graduates of teaching programs looking for work.

Barbara has finished her Polish studies and is an inhabitant of Warsaw. Up to now she has not found work, although she is looking where she can and her parents have enlisted the help of all of their acquaintances. Naturally she has been offered a position in the gmina group school, 30 km from the capital, but she did not accept it. It is too far away, and anyway she wants to work in a secondary school. This is because she is extremely interested in literary history. Work in an elementary school would not give her any satisfaction because she wants to lecture, not teach. Barbara is in a good material situation, she lives with her parents and is therefore not pressed to find work. In time she will certainly find something. She will wait. Openings turn up in schools every so often.

When she began her studies she never thought that she would have so much trouble in finding work. It seemed just the opposite to her, that there was a shortage of Polish teachers. If they were trained in such numbers, it seemed that there must be a definite need for them.

Krystyna is a graduate of Russian philology, and is subject to planned employment. She is a frequent guest in the office of the procurator for matters of employment. Krystyna comes from Bialystok, but does not want to go back to the country, especially near her family. She dreams of the city and it does not have to be Warsaw. Her financial situation is not the best, her parents do not intend to support her any longer, and even her aunt is going to turn her out in September. Therefore she must find work as quickly as possible. She recently decided on the Ostroleka voivodship. She telephoned the superintendents' office, but when she was told that she would have to count on living with a peasant family in the country more than 10 kilometers from Ostroleka, she backed out. She has no desire to be a modern "athlete". She wants to have contact with contemporary girls, with the movies and theater, and wants to marry well. She has no desire to break trail for others.

These two statements are the answer to all of the questions and doubts of those offering jobs. In the modern younger generation there is a lack of "athletes" and Judym [not explained]. They do not want to begin from zero, and the answer that this is the way a profession must start does not convince

them. Thus, as long as they are not offered equitable conditions, they will be missed in the country. Better working and living conditions for teachers with academic diplomas has become a new standard for rural education.

Girls predominate in this year's graduates of teaching programs. It is difficult to demand that they begin their professional and life's work under pioneering conditions bringing education and culture to the country, and therefore that they give up their plans for life. They struggle with loneliness and a new environment. Many of those who conversed with me intended to start a family in the very near future. If they were offered equitable living conditions, they would move to the country with no hesitation. The current situation does not attract them, and even more so because promises for rapid improvement in conditions are generally unfulfilled. In the gminas they say that they are young, so they can wait. But until they are assured of a suitable beginning, they will avoid the country.

6806

CSO: 2600

POLAND

TEACHERS DEMAND BETTER SOCIAL BENEFITS, LIVING CONDITIONS

Teachers' Union Plenum Report

Warsaw GLOS NAUCZYCIELSKI in Polish 3 Jul 77 pp 1, 8

[Article by Kazimierz Wojciechowski: "Social Fund of Housing"]

[Text] The main subjects of the Plenum of the Main Administration of the ZNP, on 20 June of this year, were matters referring to planning and using the social fund and satisfying the housing needs of educational and scientific workers.

The Plenum also listened to information from the Ministry of Education and Upbringing on the subject of the idea of reforms in professional training.

The Minister of Education and Upbringing, Jerzy Kuberski, a representative of the Section on Science and Education of the PZPR Central Committee, Czeslaw Dyja, and representatives of the Chief Committee of the ZSL, the Central Committee of the SD, of the CRZZ [Central Council of Trade Unions], of PAN [Polish Academy of Sciences] and of the Ministry of Science, Higher Education and Technology took part in the deliberations of the Plenum.

Tadeusz Toczek, the vice chairman of the Main Administration of the ZNP [Polish Teachers' Union] gave a report on the subject of planning and using the social fund and the state of satisfaction of housing needs for educational and scientific workers. We are publishing this report on pages 6, 7, and 8. The director of the Department of Professional Training of the Ministry of Education and Upbringing, Jan Karpinski, presented information on the idea of reforms in professional training.

Jerzy Niewodniczanski from Krakow, a member of the Presidium of the Main Administration of ZNP; Zygmunt Jesionowski from Poznan, a member of the Main Administration of ZNP; Eugeniusz Duraczynski from PAN; Roman Modrzejewski, chairman of the Section on Pensioners; Michalina Soltys from the Kielce voivodship, and member of the Presidium of the Main Administration

of ZNP; Janina Kula from the Katowice voivodship, a member of the Plenum of the Main Administration of ZNP; Stefan Kaleta from Wroclaw, a member of the Plenum of the Main Administration of ZNP; Jacek Kornacki, director of the Department in the Ministry of Science, Higher Education and Technology; and Jozef Krupinski from Lowicz, a member of the Plenum of the Main Administration of ZNP took part in the discussions.

The participants agreed with the evaluations, conclusions and postulates contained in the report of Vice Chairman Tadeusz Toczek. Examples of the use of the social fund and solutions to difficult housing problems were presented.

In addition they discussed a number of matters which should be the subject of work by the Main Administration of the ZNP, of interested ministries and of local links. Thus, for example, in consideration of the fact that the period of vacations for teachers and professors is narrowly limited by the regulations of the Charter of Rights and Responsibilities of the Teacher, an attempt should be made in principle for all programs published by the Workers' Vacation Fund and the Bureau of Tourism to be able to be carried out during the school vacations. In this regard attention is called to the fact that services rendered by institutions subject to GKKFiT [Main Committee for Physical Culture and Tourism] have gone up tremendously in price, which is not at all unjustified. This is caused by the reduction in the number of vacations allotted to ZNP members.

They requested that the social fund be centralized in a smaller area than previously, and only for definite, concrete purposes. The revisory commissions of the trade links are also to see whether the social fund is used properly.

Housing affairs have taken the foremost position in the social affairs of teachers and scientific workers. Thus, for example, in Krakow young scientific workers wait an average of 8 years for an apartment. About 1,000 young workers, including 288 married couples, live in student dormitories in rooms 8 by 12 square meters in size. By the time they get an apartment they are no longer young married couples and therefore cannot take advantage of the privileges guaranteed by the government (loans). Attention was also called to the fact that, although the Charter of Rights and Responsibilities of the Teacher assure the teacher of the right to a supplementary living area, this privilege is relative, since they have to pay for the excess living space according to regular rates.

Especially disquieting is the living situation of some teachers working in the country. Evicting people not associated with work in education could bring a certain amount of improvement to the situation in this respect. Teachers and professors should be recognized as workers indispensable for the national economy, and therefore they should benefit from the rights and privileges associated with this.

The proposal was voiced that a three-person team be appointed in every voivodship, with the participation of representatives of the Union and of the superintendents' office, to collect data referring to particularly drastic housing situations involving teachers. These matters are then to be presented to the voivodship leader in order to facilitate them expediently in the very near future.

Speaking during the discussions, the CRZZ representative stressed that the material for the Plenum had been prepared very carefully and that all problems presented in the report and discussed in the talks would be given kind and scrupulous consideration. Minister Jerzy Kuberski also gave a positive evaluation to the preparation of the discussions at the Plenum and to the course of discussion. In matters of housing, as a most serious vital problem facing teachers, we must work more than before. During the coming half-year the ministry with the Union should elaborate a plan for solving the housing problems of teachers, including teachers working in the country.

The construction of schools along with living quarters for teachers, which is now an obligatory principle in the Ministry of Education and Upbringing, constitutes only part of the plan. Teachers should also take advantage of general housing construction and of factory construction, as was stated to the Plenum. Private construction will also be developed.

In the opinion of the minister, further progress is possible in the area of vacation development. However this requires improved organizational efficiency. At present 30-40 percent of benefits are allocated to administrative costs. Should not the Center for Pedagogical and Social Services completely take over matters of organizing vacations for teachers?

The minister proposed that vacation activity be developed under the slogan "To each his own." This would be based on renting apartments located in good climatic conditions to teacher colleagues. Other possibilities should also be exploited. For example, it is worthwhile to consider whether factories sending their children to school camps should not allot a few places to the teachers in these schools in their vacation centers.

There is another problem permeating the teaching environment. We all know that there are still too few places for vacations. This situation undoubtedly causes dissatisfaction. However, the main blame is placed on the method of choosing destinations, because some teachers always get to go to the best centers and others are always sent to the worst.

The minister said: "In managing the social fund, we should always remember the pensioners who have a right to full use of this fund. Part of the social fund must be centralized. This is a result of the extreme dispersion of educational units. In the entire country we have about 40,000 schools and posts for education and instruction, and if this fund were left in each small school, the sums would be so small that practically nothing could be done with them."

The minister also mentioned some problems connected with the reforms of vocational training. The most important concern in this field is educating youth for work and through work. This is the basic instructional task of the entire educational system. "Spoiled" youth should not be allowed to enter any vocations. The training and development of interests and talents in youth should not be limited to the intellectual sphere, but should also include the manual, practical and technical sphere.

With reference to the problem of qualifications of teaching cadres, we must emphasize that this year about 20,000 teachers will finish their master's studies. This is a great event in the history of our educational system. We are beginning to see the results of activity in the self-improvement of teachers begun in 1973. We can undoubtedly attribute these extremely positive results to the efforts of all teaching institutions, to the atmosphere around teachers studying created by the educational workers in these institutions, and to the aid granted to students by the school administration and by vocational links, but mainly to the tremendous efforts of the teachers themselves.

The qualifying examinations also met with a positive response, and the first examination sessions brought very positive results, both in the level and in the number of those passing the examinations. Minister Kuberski sincerely thanked the vocational workers for their work all year. "If we have muddled through many difficulties this year, it is only because we moved ahead together wherever possible."

Boleslaw Grzes, chairman of the Main Administration of the ZNP, summed up the proceedings. Their progress showed that the conduct of the plenary meeting of the Main Administration of the ZNP, devoted to matters of managing the social fund and to housing concerns of educational and scientific workers, was effective and expedient. The Main Administration of ZNP collected very precise materials both from its own sources and from interested ministries. The social and housing funds are already receiving larger amounts, which will make a considerable expansion of benefits for the workers possible. A fundamental matter today is that the funds be administered expediently, thriftily, justly in the sight of society, publicly and in proportion to the number of employees. The ZNP members wish to know, and have a right to know how much, for what and who.

It is necessary for social welfare activity to be administered by properly prepared people if the funds are to be managed well. This makes it possible for expenditures to be thriftier and better planned.

Every unnecessary increase in the costs of social benefits, particularly by tourist and sightseeing organizations, is met with sharp criticism. Agents of this type are not necessary.

The chairman said: "At the present time there are large distinctions both in the area of quantity and of quality in social services between individual voivodships and within voivodships as well. We must gradually reduce these disproportions. The social fund can be concentrated on the level of the voivodship only after agreement of the employers and of the plant councils on definite, concrete tasks."

The plant councils should participate actively in all phases of management of social and housing benefits: planning, achievement and social control. At least once a year the plant councils should make an evaluation of the achievements of social benefits and determine the source of defects and the ways to eliminate them. The best experience in managing funds and solving housing problems should be widely disseminated. In closing the discussions, the chairman thanked the members of the Plenum, the sections and the union commissions for their active participation in preparing for the Plenum and for their active and creative discussion.

#### Resolution on Social, Housing Funds

Warsaw GLOS NAUCZYCIELSKI in Polish 3 Jul 77 p 8

[Resolution of the Main Administration of ZNP of 20 June 1977, concerning the planning and use of social and housing funds and concerning the satisfaction of social and housing needs.]

[Text] Directed by the guidelines of the Political Bureau of the PZPR Central Committee, of the Presidium of the Government and of the Presidium of the CRZZ of May 1976 concerning further improvement in working conditions and union social and welfare activity and by Resolution 12 of the National Congress of the National Congress of ZNP Delegates, the Main Administration of ZNP, at its session on 20 June 1977, made an evaluation of the functioning of plant social and housing funds and the degree of satisfaction of the social and housing needs of workers in education and instruction, in higher schools and in scientific research institutions.

It is found that the establishment of plant social and housing funds and principles of social and welfare activity on the basis of these funds have contributed in an outstanding way to improving the living conditions of teachers and their families.

The Main Administration of ZNP makes a positive evaluation of the activity of administrations, instances and links united in the area of organization, planning and using plant social and housing funds. The gmina schools, faculties and superintendents' offices of education and instruction, higher schools and institutions have annual and multiyear plans for social activity and for the satisfaction of the housing needs of workers. Further significant development has taken place in various social benefits, and in particular such as: vacations, summer settlements and camps, and aid for pensioners and annuitants.

In the area of satisfying housing needs, various initiatives were adopted, as a result of which some slight improvement occurred in the housing conditions of workers.

Nevertheless, however, some abnormalities occur both in the area of planning and in the area of using plant social and housing funds, and in organizing and in developing social activity.

Support still needs to be given to initiatives which aim at extending various forms of social activity, increasing their effectiveness and in particular leveling out disproportions existing in this area, and more equitable distribution of benefits.

Activity in favor of solving the housing problem of educational and scientific workers must be embraced more consistently. In this area there is an urgent need for embracing more effective activity, both on the central and local level, for the purpose of accelerating a solution to the housing problem of workers. Particularly shocking cases in the housing situation should be solved by 1980 at the latest.

In view of the above the Main Administration of the ZNP obliges the Presidium of the Main Administration of ZNP to elaborate guidelines, in conjunction with interested ministries, in the matter of further improvement in social activity and in improvement in the housing situation of workers, for all links and instances of the ZNP on the basis of the content of the report, the concern and the conclusions voiced in the discussion today and in the material presented by ministries and by PAN.

In the guidelines the attention of all links in the state and school administration and in the links and instances of ZNP should primarily be concentrated on:

--Undertaking activity for the purpose of achieving the complex investment plans of housing construction;

--Aiming at the most rapid possible evacuation of persons not associated with teaching and science from livable apartments;

--Increasing aid for those constructing their own homes and for those entering housing construction cooperatives;

--Making efforts to shorten the waiting time for cooperative housing allotments and to assign apartments vacated by teachers to teachers;

--Expanding the construction of hotels for assistants and taking other initiatives which were mentioned in the discussions.

In social activity greater attention should be called to:

--Improving recreation for workers and their families, as well as in the area of a suitable time for this recreation. This is a matter of the proper use of suitable periods, most suitable for the recreation of educational and scientific workers.

--Expanding cultural and educational activity and developing sports and tourism.

--Better management of the resources of the plant social fund, and observance of proper proportions in spending them and more equitable distribution of benefits in the eyes of society.

--Improving the work of the social services and of associated organizations, particularly the plant councils.

--Spreading good experience in educational and trade publications.

6806

CSO: 2600

ROMANIA

BRIEFS

NONALINED RADIO CONFERENCE--The first conference of the radio-television organizations of nonalined countries opened in Sarajevo. Romania participates as observer with a delegation led by Vasile Musat, general manager of Romanian Radio-Television. [Summary] [Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 0500 GMT 28 Oct 77 AU]

THANKS TO CEAUSESCU--Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, RCP secretary general, has received a cable from Comrade Hua Kuo-feng, chairman of the CCP Central Committee, expressing sincere thanks for the congratulatory telegram extended on the conclusion of the 11th CCP National Congress. The telegram stresses that the CCP and the Chinese people are determined to make constant efforts to further strengthen and develop friendly cooperation and revolutionary friendship between the two parties and peoples of China and Romania. The telegram ends by extending wholehearted wishes to the fraternal Romanian people for new and greater successes under the leadership of the RCP Central Committee headed by Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu in the work to build socialism and in the struggle to defend national independence and state sovereignty. [Text] [Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 1600 GMT 29 Oct 77 AU]

CSO: 2700

## YUGOSLAVIA

### ISLAMIC PUBLICATION PROTESTS RESTRICTIONS ON RELIGIOUS EDUCATION

[Editorial Report] The 1-31 October 1977 (Nos. 19-20) issue of PREPOROD, organ of the Islamic community in Bosnia-Hercegovina published in Sarajevo (page 2), criticizes restrictions on religious instruction which it says have existed for several years in some opstinas in the Province of Kosovo. "There have been a large number of [such] individual actions taken by government representatives and some members of sociopolitical organizations, especially those in the field of education." PREPOROD says that in Podujevo the secretary of the LCY Opstina Conference ordered the president of the Islamic Community Council to stop religious training in that area, and a similar situation arose in the village of Vel Djurdjevik where the president of the Klina Opstina assembly and head of the police ordered the local iman to stop religious instruction also in the villages of Suva Reka Opstina and others. "The fact that these are not only cases of excess but are slowly becoming the practice and specific standard of action is attested to by articles in RILINDJA," the Albanian-language newspaper published in Pristina, "to which the communists of Suva Reka Opstina give credit for the quick action that made impossible the carrying out of religious instruction in the villages of this opstina!

"Although," PREPOROD continues, "Experience up to now has confirmed that the decisions of opstina assemblies have regularly been anti-self-management (because in appeals to higher courts they have been thrown out), the practice continues with undiminished intensity, and has provoked serious unrest among believers because it flagrantly violates their rights and limits religious freedom. If the Law on the Legal Position of Religious Communities says that a prison term of 60 days is the penalty for a person who prevents or hinders the carrying out of religious rites and work, i.e., the manifestation of religious feelings," all this is a dead letter about which no one cares at all. Up to now no one has ever been called to account for abusing his position and for anti-constitutional decisions which threaten religious freedom, to say nothing of anyone bearing the consequences for this!"

In another article on page 16, PREPOROD denounces specific articles in past issues of RILINDJA which report that children of LC members are forced to attend Islamic instruction in Gnjilane, when they might better be doing their homework or resting; it also criticizes the publication of a "so-called poem which is an insult and provocation to all those who believe in God."

This is the same issue of PREPOROD which published on the front page the official response of the Islamic community to charges made in BORBA, OSLOBODJENJE, and other papers regarding the plaque on the new Islamic Faculty in Sarajevo which included names of anti-Communists from the war period ("war criminals sentenced for serious crimes against the people and state"). PREPOROD, while admitting this oversight, said the public and press reaction was excessive and "refers to the record of the High Islamic Clergy" in responding to "such improper insinuations regarding the intentions" of the Islamic community.

CSO: 2800

END